

**GENEALOGY AS A SOURCE FOR WRITING SOCIAL
HISTORY- CASE OF CHALUKYAN FAMILIES**

**A Thesis submitted to the University of Hyderabad
for the Degree of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY**

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work embodied in this thesis entitled ***GENEALOGY AS A SOURCE FOR WRITING SOCIAL HISTORY- CASE OF CHALUKYAN FAMILIES***, carried out by me under the supervision of Prof. Aloka Parasher-Sen, Department of History, School of Social Sciences, University of Hyderabad, is original and this has not been submitted for any other degree either in part or in full to any other University or this University.

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CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	I-II
<i>Transliteration Table</i>	III
<i>Abbreviations</i>	IV
<i>List of Charts</i>	v
<i>List of Maps</i>	vi
<i>List of Appendices</i>	vi
<u>CHAPTER I</u> INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES	 1-36
<u>CHAPTER II</u> HISTORIOGRAPHY	 37-78
<u>CHAPTER III</u> GENEALOGY, TIME AND IDENTITY	 79-160
<u>CHAPTER IV</u> CONQUESTS, MIGRATIONS AND SPATIAL EXPANSION	 161-253
<u>CHAPTER V</u> PATRONAGE, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTROL	 254-348
<u>CHAPTER VI</u> IDEOLOGY, REGION AND PAN-INDIAN LINKAGES	 349-433
<u>CHAPTER VII</u> RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSIONS	 434-461
BIBLIOGRAPHY	462-484
APPENDICES	485-496

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Date:

Place:

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Transliteration Table

English		Deva-nagari		Telugu	English		Deva-nagari		Telugu
a	--	अ	--	అ	ṭh	--	ट्	--	ఠ
ā	--	आ	--	ఆ	ḍ	--	ड	--	డ
i	--	इ	--	ఇ	ḍh	--	ढ	--	ఢ
ī	--	ई	--	ఈ	n	--	ण	--	ణ
u	--	उ	--	ఉ	t	--	त्	--	ట
ū	--	ऊ	--	ఊ	th	--	थ	--	థ
e	--	ए	--	ఎ	d	--	द	--	ద
ai	--	ऐ	--	ఐ	dh	--	ध	--	ధ
o	--	ओ	--	ఒ	n	--	न्	--	న్
ou	--	औ	--	ఔ	p	--	प्	--	ప్
r	--	ऋ	--	ఋ	ph	--	फ	--	ఫ
k	--	क्	--	క	b	--	ब्	--	బ
kh	--	ख	--	ఖ	bh	--	भ	--	భ
g	--	ग्	--	గ	m	--	म्	--	మ్
gh	--	घ	--	ఘ	y	--	य	--	య
ñ	--	ङ	--	ఙ	r	--	र्	--	ర్
c	--	च्	--	చ	l	--	ल्	--	ల్
ch	--	छ	--	ఛ	v	--	व	--	వ
j	--	ज	--	జ	h	--	ह	--	హ
jh	--	झ	--	ఝ	ś	--	श्	--	శ
ñ	--	ञ	--	ఞ	s	--	स्	--	స్
t	--	ट्	--	ట	sh	--	क्ष	--	క్ష

anusvara : - ṁ

Visarga : - ḥ

No diacritical marks have been used while describing the names of districts, towns and villages which have already become acceptable in modern English. However, these have been used to indicate ancient names of places, persons and in case of technical words in Sanskrit and other Indian languages.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI	: <i>Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute</i>
AISH	: <i>Ancient Indian Social History</i>
APGAS	: <i>Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series</i>
ARE	: <i>Annual Reports of Epigraphy</i>
ASAFAS	: <i>Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies</i>
BDCRI	: <i>Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute</i>
CUD	: <i>Corpus of Inscriptions in the Telangana Districts</i>
CPIAPGM	: <i>Copper Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum</i>
CSSH	: <i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i>
CV	: <i>Chalukyas of L(V)emulavada</i>
Dt.	: District
EA	: <i>Epigraphia Andhrica</i>
EI	: <i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
IA	: <i>Indian Antiquary</i>
IAP	: <i>Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh</i>
IESHR	: <i>Indian Economic and Social History Review</i>
IHQ	: <i>Indian Quarterly Journal</i>
IHR	: <i>Indian Historical Review</i>
IMCDAP	: <i>inscriptions of Minor Chalukyan Dynasties of Andhra Pradesh</i>
JAHR	: <i>Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society</i>
JAR	: <i>Journal of Anthropological Research</i>
JAS	: <i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>
JBBRAS	: <i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JBORS	: <i>Journal of Bihar Orissa Research Society</i>
JESHO	: <i>Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JESI	: <i>Journal of Epigraphical Society of India</i>
JIH	: <i>Journal of Indian History</i>
JISOA	: <i>Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art</i>
JOR	: <i>Journal of Oriental Research</i>
JRAI	: <i>Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute</i>
JRAS	: <i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society</i>
MAS	: <i>Modern Asian Studies</i>
PAPHC	: <i>Proceedings of Andhra Pradesh History Congress</i>
PC	: <i>Pallavulu Chalukyulu</i>
SII	: <i>South Indian Inscriptions</i>

LIST OF CHARTS

	P. No
<u>CHART- IA</u> Genealogies of the Chajukyan Families - Phase 1 (6 th -10 th Centuries AD)	135-147
<u>CHART- IB</u> Genealogies of the Chajukyan Families Phase 2 (11 th -12 th Centuries AD)	148-160
<u>CHART- HA</u> Conquests, Titles and Marriage Alliances - Phase 1 (6 th -10 th Centuries AD)	227-240
<u>CHART- IIB</u> Conquests, Titles and Marriage Alliances - Phase 2 (11 th -12 th Centuries AD)	241-253
<u>CHART- IIIA</u> Patronage and Nature of Grants - Phase 1 (6 th -10 th Centuries AD)	321-333
<u>CHART- III B</u> Patronage and Nature of Grants - Phase 2 (11 th -12 th Centuries AD)	334-348
<u>CHART- IVA</u> Pan-Indian Symbols and Beliefs - Phase 1 (6 th -10 th Centuries AD)	410-422
<u>CHART- IVB</u> Pan-Indian Symbols and Beliefs - Phase 2 (11 th -12 th Centuries AD)	423-433

LIST OF MAPS

<u>MAP- I</u>	P. No
Area of Study	20
<u>MAP- II</u>	
Extent of the Chalukyan Kingdoms	167
- Phase 1 (6 th -10 th Centuries AD)	
<u>MAP- III</u>	
Extent of the Chalukyan Kingdoms	170
-Phase 2 (11 th -12 th Centuries AD)	

LIST OF APPENDICES

<u>APPENDIX- I</u>	
Genealogical Chart of the Chalukyas of Badami	485
<u>APPENDIX- II</u>	
Genealogical Chart of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi	486-487
<u>APPENDIX- III</u>	
Genealogical Chart of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani	488-489
<u>APPENDIX- IVA</u>	
Genealogical Chart of the Chalukyas of Vemulavada	490
<u>APPENDIX- IVB</u>	
Genealogical Chart of the Chalukyas of Mudigonda	491
<u>APPENDIX- IVC</u>	
Genealogical Chart of the Chalukyas of Nidadavolu	492
<u>APPENDIX-IVD</u>	
Genealogical Chart of the Chalukyas of Jananathapuram	493
<u>APPENDIX- V</u>	
Mythical Genealogy of the <i>Candravarṇsa</i> Lineage	494-496

CHAPTER- I

INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES

In 1868 the British scholar Hunter wrote: "Every country, almost every parish in England had its annals; but in India, vast provinces, greater in extent than the British Islands, have no individual history whatever. . . .nor are the inhabitants themselves very much better acquainted with the history of the country in which they live".¹ Like Hunter, many administrative-scholars writing during the 19th century emphasized pertinently on two fundamental points. One, that in the modern notion of history writing sources based on authentic documentation and a linear notion of time were crucial to write political history. Second, most of the scholars found that there was a lack of information pertaining to the history of India and that the Indians themselves were unacquainted with their own past. This lack of historical sense in pre-colonial India, it was suggested was primarily due to not only an absence of proper records to do so, but also due to a lack of the sense of linear time among them. The discovery of inscriptions on the Indian sub-continent from the second half of the 19th century helped and energized these scholars to create a systematic documentation of source material for writing Indian history. Inscriptional sources have, however, largely been used by Indologists to write political history of the different ruling families.

In this thesis we want to juxtapose this modern notion of history that singularly deals with the linear notion of time to build an account of primarily political history, with an account of much more complex notions of time encased in both literary and inscriptional source materials that have been used for this study. We argue that these sources can be effectively used to write a social history, not merely a political one, which was, in fact, the main intent of the ruling elite in a construction of their past based on both memory and history as described in their records. Hence, we have largely used the same data that has hitherto been used to write a political history, to recount a much more expansive social history. This study is challenging, because not only have we pertinently moved away from the genre of writing merely regional political

history to that of the genre of social history at the regional level, but we do so by reading the sources in terms of their inherent perception of the past. This raises major questions about the nature of sources being used to write this history and the various notions of time that were embedded in them.

I

In order to understand this we outline the aims of this thesis as follows. Our primary aim is to understand the importance of **Genealogy** as a **source** for writing **social history** by taking a case study of the genealogies of ruling groups. From our point of view, it were these groups that constituted and determined the power structure and thus played a significant role in defining the purpose of history as a dominant ideology of the State. It would not be out of place to state here that hitherto, scholarly studies on genealogies primarily looked at them as a source to construct political and chronological history so as to fit in the defined parameters of history writing as determined by modern histories built on the empirical experiences valid for the West. In our point of view, such a narrative would only take us away from the realization that to understand these genealogies we need to emphasize on what they actually meant for the then contemporary society. Genealogies whether fictitious or real, are found carefully preserved and transmitted through generations emphasizing on the necessity of maintaining given social identities and preserving them for posterity. In other words, therefore,, historical research to be undertaken by us in the present study, first aims at an analysis of the genealogies as a significant source to understand the **thoughts and perceptions of the past** as generated by the ruling elites in pre-modern India.

Our **second aim**, intrinsically related to the first, is to understand the nature of historical consciousness as it existed in pre-modern India. Most of the modern writings on Indian history began with the erroneous notion that ancient Indians lacked a sense of history and as such were crippled to develop historical consciousness as it was found in the West. Such a blemish on ancient India was intended to project a stagnant picture of Indian society devoid of any change. However, we argue that in truism in ancient India dynamics of change

may be seen not only on the political, social and economic planes, but also ideologically in the way historical consciousness in specific regional temporal and spatial contexts developed. In this regard, therefore, our study attempts to scrutinize genealogies in the regional context of the Chajukyan families ruling over the Deccan during early medieval times in order to underline the assumption that a certain historical consciousness did exist that emerged out of the historical processes of constructing specific **social and political identities**. However, we realize that mere identity formation was just not sufficient for having recognition and status in a society. Instead, various integrative mechanisms of control like political, economic, social and ideological had to be evolved through which this identity could be validated. Hence, as a third aim, in this context, we intend to comprehend these various control mechanisms adopted by the ruling elites to legitimize their identity. Thus, this study makes a necessary departure from the existing methods of history writing by giving equal paramountacy to the source as to the interpretations, without in anyway, imposing criteria external to it to define it. That these sources in fact, focus on social history, in our opinion, leads us to study social history in more expansive terms than has hitherto been done, which unravels the relationship of the social to the political on the one hand, and the ideological on the other.

For this understanding therefore,, it becomes important for us to underline the definition of **social history**, in the context of the present study, This is important, particularly when one disagrees with the set pattern under which much of ancient Indian social history has come to be defined. Several definitions on social history have been postulated by scholars over a period of time. However, of these, John Breuilly's definition² on social history offers us with one of the most convincing definitions. Breuilly identifies three broad levels at which social history has come to be defined. He has described these as: (a) Residual Social History, (b) Societal History and (c) History of Social Experience. The concern of the first type of Social History, Breuilly says, is to deal with whole range of activities which are said to be conducted outside the arena of political, economic, military history and the like. In this sense, Social history's aim is to describe such 'trivialities' as a study of dress and ornaments, weddings, eating habits, leisure, manners and customs and so on. We may note that in a large number of historical writings on India as a whole, and

South India and Deccan in particular, Social History came to be understood within the parameters of this definition of social history,³ where scholars have impetuously accumulated a pile of facts on these trivialities. In the second type of Social History, the historian subsumes other types of History like the political, military, economic, ideological and so on within the overall framework of social history in order to explain a history of 'society as a whole' or, a 'social formation'. The major draw back of this type of Social History is that though the different dimensions of history get defined but in its inter-relationships, social history loses its value. Historical writings pertaining to this type of Social History explained by Breuilly are very limited in the context of the Deccan. Both these definitions of social history based on trivialities and compartmentalization in rigid terms of 'political', 'economic' and 'social' in analyzing historical change, however, are of no or, only marginal interest to our study. On the other hand, the third view of Social History, which Breuilly has defined, is concerned with the particular experience and not action of the people. In this view, groups of wage-earners, occupational groups, family members all have a sense of identity behind the specified role that they perform in society.⁴ In order to identify this experience one would have to go behind the people's actions, to the so-called 'real,' and this could then lead on to unverifiable speculation.⁵ Nonetheless, in this view "social history is not a particular kind of history; it is a dimension which should be present in every kind of history".⁶ It is within the purview of this definition on social history that the broad aim of understanding genealogy as a historical source gets defined, in the present study. We argue that ideas and perceptions that encased the source materials we use to write this history have to be made central to our interrogation.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* the term 'genealogy' has been defined as "descent traced continuously from an ancestor".⁷ In Sanskrit the English term 'genealogy' came to be equated with '*vamsavaji*' or '*vamsanucarita*', these two literally mean "a genealogical list or, history of family implying succession".⁸ However, Anthropologists attach a significant scientific connotation to understand the term genealogy, which has been closely modeled on the presumption of "actual biological relations that underlies the socio-cultural product called kinship".⁹ In its cosmological

connotation genealogies have been further described as connecting human families with their mythical origins, joining them as kinfolk within the universal community of gods, spirits and other forms of life.¹⁰ Assessing the importance of genealogies in social formations, their interpretative scope has been further enhanced. Therefore,, in a broad way genealogies can be described as "records relating to the past where the lineages of families are preserved in a systematic order".¹¹ Thus, the term 'genealogy' and its explication is closely associated with unraveling the human past and especially crucial to define the political and socio-cultural matrix of a society that governs human relations. One must thus begin with the assertion that genealogies should not be treated merely as family records but, rather, as historical narratives that encompass several crucial issues related to historical memory, temporality, and sequential narration of names and actions undertaken by individuals in a rather systematic way. The theoretical issues underpinning of these definitions, from our point of view, constitute the core of historical narration.

The first of these theoretical issues pertains to an understanding of genealogy as a 'historical narrative'. To accept genealogy as a mode of historical narration, it is first important for us to know the co-relation between genealogy and narrative. The word "Narrative" or "Narration" is derived from the Latin word "Narrat" which means "to make known" "relate" or "tell".¹² The *Oxford English Dictionary* describes 'narrative' as "a spoken or written recital of connected events or facts in order".¹³ Modernity defines "narrative" as "a coherent sequence of statements about specified facts".¹⁴ In this view, it is the description of the course of events that forms the chief characteristic of a historical narrative that is frequently used in historical explanation or historiography. We argue that, since the intention of genealogy writers was to present not only events and facts but also actions undertaken by individuals, based on both oral as well as written sources in a chronological sequence, they suffice to be considered as a different kind of narrative of the past. Genealogies are different because unlike modern history that uses only various written source material to write the history, genealogical narratives, on the other hand, must necessarily also be based on the 'memory' that forms a second source used to make the components of the complex texture of a genealogical narrative.

It is critical to note that the ruling elites were selective in constructing their family linkages and often took recourse to memory to do so. Memory involves remembering or, sometimes even forgetting, certain aspects of the past. Its recollection is an important mechanism to define one's own identity within given historical situations. It highlights those aspects of our beliefs and events that represent and preserve bits of history. Thus memory in this regard, plays a socially constructive role. Halbwachs characterizes memory as "a filter of past events that tends to preserve only those images that support the group's present sense of identity".¹⁵ Collective memory is a form of consciousness of the past that reinterprets it in the light of the present interests. In our analysis, therefore,, the study of memory as a central component of a genealogy becomes even more significant when the ruling families consciously attempt to remember certain statements, beliefs or events that were transmitted, especially by the ancient Indian oral tradition from generation to generation¹⁶ as important in providing legitimization to their power.

Intrinsically linked to memory and history is the notion of time that forms another central component of composing a genealogy. Time is that factor which gives history its sense of existence and its vital force.¹⁷ In some societies, history is conceived of as a cyclical unfolding of generations, but in others it delves into reckoning the linear sequence of events. It is interesting to note that genealogies harbor different notions of temporality that can be labeled as mythical or cyclic time, historical or linear time and contemporary or dated time. We understand 'the mythical or metaphysical time' as the time that is rooted in the origin myths explaining the beginning of the genealogical narratives. In other words, mythical time is that time, which is generally mentioned in the inscriptions when one's ancestry was located in a remote past by making references to Gods or Heroes or events that were associated with metaphysical notions of time. These were usually built into notions of cyclic time. The second category of time dealt within inscriptions is historical time. Thapar referred to this type of time as 'generational time' since it involved the measurement of time from one generation to another. However, we have called it historical time as it deals with the immediate past of the king where the genealogies of the king's predecessors were enumerated in sequential order. The third category of time noticed in our sources is 'contemporary' or 'dated'

time, which is referred to in terms of an era or *samvatsara* and the regnal year when the particular king ruled. This time, in the present study, assumes importance because it gives a certain linearity and fixity to the genealogical narratives and thus enhances its authenticity and reliability as a source of information for explicating a sense of the past rooted in immeasurable terms. Analyses of these different notions of time shall be made to emphasize on different perspectives of the past and their representation in these genealogical constructions. Thus, it may be underscored here that identifying the presence of memory and explaining the different notions of time in the making of these narratives undoubtedly assigns genealogy a status of historical source for writing social history.

In the Indian context, the study of genealogy as a source for writing social history has been attempted in the preliminary writings¹⁸ of Romila Thapar, who had used genealogies as found in the Puranic sources. She has provided useful insights that have been used by us as a criteria to define genealogies as they occur in the inscriptional sources used by us. Some of these that are useful for our study can be detailed as follows. First, recognizing the importance of genealogies as claims to represent the past through reckoning of time Thapar suggests that they should be considered as perspectives "on the past" rather than looking at them as "reflections of the actual past". Secondly, it is pointed out that the spatial context emerges when genealogies particularly relate to migration of social groups who then disseminate their lineages to different geographical areas. Thirdly, genealogies are necessary, she points out, for the regulation of marriage alliances between various kin groups. Fourthly, genealogies become important for claiming property rights. Fifthly, she has argued this out in her subsequent work that the maintenance of genealogies was most relevant in perpetuating human relations especially when rulers were moving towards state formation. This it could be suggested was also true of small kingdoms becoming larger states and empires. Finally, genealogies were crucial for those groups who are seeking to heighten their socio-political status and therefore,, regard their preservation and even fabrication as a crucial factor for legitimization.

On the other hand, most modern historians, when they attempted to construct Indian history while using the genealogical material from inscriptions,

they left out the mythical, epic and puranic portions of the *prasastis*. They only chose that material considered relevant and authentic and verifiable for determining political events or actions and thus, fitted their narrative into a model that was suitable for a positivist methodological framework. Therefore,, only the immediate historical past was studied as it has helped them to construct political history. The mythical past of the ruling elite was dismissed as something irrelevant to their concerns, since this material was found to be a-historical for their fictitious representations. However, we cannot overlook the latter as this reflected a world-view of the ruling elite embedded in conceptions that provided value for providing an identity to them that was understood in an ideological context and thereby, helped them enhance their status. Hence, instead of removing and separating this material of the mythical past from the historical past, it has been decidedly and unconsciously understood together as this helps us understand how the ruling elite perceived of their past, just as, the modern nation state turns to history to provide a legitimate past that can define its identity.

Modern historians have inherited the Imperialists and Nationalists versions of Indian history that viewed ancient Indians as not possessing a definite sense of history as known in modern scientific terms. Thus, for instance, the Imperialist historian James Mill, a prominent Utilitarian of his time, in his foundational ***History of British India***, offered an explanation for the lack of historical sense in the cultural inferiority of the Hindus.¹⁹ On the other hand, Hegel who derived inspiration from Mill went a step ahead in attacking those very concepts of spiritualism and idealism of Indian society that made them incapable of writing history.²⁰ He attributed this as one of the reasons, for not finding a department of history that, according to him was, "altogether neglected or rather non-existent" ²¹ However, Fleet one of the most prolific epigraphists, working on India, pondered on this subject in a different way. He made a significant remark: "they (the ancient Hindus) could write short historical compositions concise and limited in extent. This is evident from the historical chapters of the *Puranas* that certainly indicate a desire on the part of the ancient Hindus not to ignore general history altogether...", but goes on to point out that "no national history of the Hindus"²² is available to us. There was an echo of similar sentiments about history writing in the so-called

nationalist histories. For the Nationalists, writing their own history was the only way they could provide opposition to the colonial version of their history. Assertions by Bankimchandra when he wrote: "we have no history! We must have a history",²³ did not go unheeded. However, when the Nationalists initiated writing history of their own people, not only did they invariably accept the methodological patterns set for them by British scholars but, often seem to be just quoting their predecessors, especially if it concerned glorifying their past. Thus, it is not surprising to find scholars like R. G. Bhandarkar start his introduction to his *Early History of the Dekkan*, with the statement that "India has no written history". However, the purpose of his work he further added, was to write "*merely a congeries of facts*"²⁴ {emphasis added}, indicating for us the strong influence of the positivist methodology on modern historians of early India. Thus we find, whether it was Hegel's writings on the Orient, or more generally, the writings of mainline empiricists and utilitarians of the nineteenth century, India could not attain the epistemological criteria for writing history in the eyes of these scholars.

In the colonial interpretations of India as a land without history or tools for history writing, Indologists forcefully argued that this was also due to its lack of political unity. In India, according to colonial scholars, something intervened or retarded this evolution and this was widely proclaimed and identified as caste. According to Hegel, "the impulse of organization, in beginning to develop social distinctions, was immediately petrified in the merely natural classification according to caste".²⁵ Since caste precluded the development of a unitary state, in India there could be no history as such, according to him.²⁶ Reacting to the views of imperialist writers, Ronald Inden has argued that the reduction of political, religious and economic practices to the social, that is, caste is deeply embedded not only in representing Indian civilization but in Indological discourse itself.²⁷ Therefore,, in his view, envisaging caste as a detrimental factor, is purely the product of the British academic scholarship written against the background of the warmth of the colonial state. Responding in a similar vein, Alice Thorner refuted the undue importance given to 'caste' as an explanatory category pointing out that much of Indian source material like in inscription do not mention caste explicitly, and this suggests that caste was neither the concern for political powers in ancient India,²⁸ nor was it ever used as a tool to acquire political power.

Recently, Roy. W. Perret²⁹ has drawn our attention to concepts like memory and time addressed in Indian epistemology as the supposed reasons for explaining the lack for a sense of their past by the Indian. He has suggested three basic reasons on the basis of which the ancient Indian philosophers had nurtured their conception of knowledge that led them to attach no importance to history and to deny history and memory a special status in their conception of knowledge. Thus, he explains that first, it was thought by the ancient thinkers that memory did not give new knowledge, but only revived old knowledge. Secondly, it was pointed out by them that genuine knowledge was true to its object, but the object in memory was only remembered and therefore,, was not originally presented.³⁰ Thirdly, and most crucially, the Indian thinkers believed that memory revealed its objects only through the traces of it in past experiences. Since memory stood on such a fragile basis, Perret summarizes that it could not provide authentic knowledge that would be a good basis to write history. But Mikael Aktor's recent study on *Smftis and Jatis* brings to the forefront, the importance assigned to memory, particularly the way the ancient Indians looked at their past in terms of its *smrti* or remembered traditions.³¹ Aktor goes on to elaborate that the cultural practices of *jatis* in fact, not only enact cultural memory, but also enable a re-articulation of producing new *Smrtis* from time to time. Some of his derivations are based on what Sheldon Pollock had earlier written about the role of *smrti* (memory) in the construction of *Sastra* literature. Pollock had emphatically argued that to deny the importance of memory to the production of the *Sastra* and *Smrti* literature was baseless for the *Sastra* production is viewed in *Sastra* itself as a process of 'remembering' ancient, pre-existing truths.³² These insights by recent researchers on the representation of memory in traditional literature are varied, but nonetheless, they form a critical background for us to cognize the role of memory and its purpose in framing the genealogical narratives as source materials for the present study.

Another central issue that is crucial to discuss at the out set is how the notion of time was espoused in the narratives of pre-modern India. Its limited understanding in most of the writings by modern historians had led them to

thus deny that historical knowledge was not cherished by the Indians. The Western scholarship generally accepted the Judeo-Christian notion of time that simply explained time in its linearity and therefore, accepted change as progressive.³³ It is also deduced from this that the linear notion of time entailed a more conscious narration of historical events. This was then contrasted to the temporal time portrayed in the Hindu *Puranas*, the Epics and the writings of Indian astronomers that appeared complexly cyclical. It was usually understood, and even suggested, that cyclic time attached no importance to history because of its non-linearity and therefore, lack of progressiveness. In ultimate analysis, cyclic time with immense cycles of change, it has been suggested, was the characteristic of primitive and archaic societies.³⁴ These simplistic interpretations have been severely criticized by in the recent writings of Romila Thapar. She argues that the characterizing of societies, by using either cyclic or linear time is an inadequate explanation for explaining the centrality of history. She further points out that time as conceived in cosmology or eschatology, does not exclude the use of other categories of time like linear time and suggests that these different notions of time can be simultaneous in the same society. Hence, in her opinion, the inclusion of cyclic time may be viewed, not as a characteristic of cultures that are historically stunted but, on the other hand, it emphatically indicates historical complexity.³⁵ Most of Thapar's arguments are based on her study of the ancient Indian literary tradition. However, in the present study, we shall attempt to extend this argument to cover inscriptional sources as well. It is important to note that whereas the texts like the *Puranas* espouse a cyclic notion of time, after the origin of the decimal system and particularly in the inscriptions, the linear system of time reckoning clearly emerged and co-existed with the cyclic notion. This becomes significant to cognize since when we look at the genealogical accounts that were used in the *prasasti* sections of inscriptions they note both political time as well as metaphysical time.

A mature sense of history writing in China and the West that was contrasted with the lack of consciousness about the past among the Indians in the writings of Indologists and Nationalists has raised several fundamental questions for scholars like Herman Kulke, Daud Ali and Veicheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman and Sanjay Subrahmanyam and others who have been re-

looking at the issues of how the past had been represented in pre-modern societies. The basic focus in these writings has been on finding out how historical consciousness existed in India before the British initiated the writing of history on the sub-continent in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. These recent endeavors now attempt to refute the earlier notion that Indians lacked a sense of past and that "history" as an academic discipline itself had its origins in modernity. These scholars have systematically surveyed sources of the past to understand primarily how the writing of history in the pre-colonial period was memorized, articulated and re-presented in *different contexts of time and space*. Their studies interestingly point to the existence of indigenous methods of history writing in the pre-colonial period that did not, however, follow any particular model as was defined by the West for writing history. Instead it had evolved its own methods of writing history for different periods and regions, thus signifying the existence of multiple forms of historical traditions in pre-modern times on the sub-continent.

For instance, Herman Kulke's study³⁶ on the writing of regional history in Orissa has interestingly revealed the existence of a continuous process of history writing there. This process of writing history, he observes, had developed with the purpose of safeguarding or even securing landed property of a temple. Sometimes, the interests of a new dynasty seeking legitimization of royal authority may have also played a decisive role in explaining the essence of the indigenous form of history writing in Orissa. Thus, Kulke has tried to connect the process of history writing to the legitimization of royal authority and to the process of state formation. His observations become important in the context of our study too, particularly when we begin to analyze the significance of maintaining genealogies in the context of the formation of regional kingdoms and their transformation into larger states and empires. Further, it also helps us to emphasize the conscious means of remembering, renewing and rewriting of histories in genealogical portions of the inscriptions that essentially serve as ideological mechanisms for organizing and legitimizing polities.

On the other hand, Daud Ali, through his study on the *prasastis* of the Chola inscriptions has suggested reading these *prasastis* as dialogical utterances of the royal courts that were actively influenced by all the literary

genres of the time like the *Puranas* and *Kavyas*. According to him, these influences tell us about a fundamentally different notion of how the past was perceived by these ruling elites that was clearly not identical to the modern way of writing about the past. In the words of Daud AN therefore, these should be read as "texts" that formed part of an integrated discursive practice within the larger ideological framework of the society that produced them.³⁷ Thus, from his writings it is clearly evident that, neither the *prasasti* nor, the narratives that influenced them should be studied as autonomous subjects. His approach provides us an appropriate way to look at the genealogical narratives that form an important component of *prasastis*, as dialogue between the representational practices of courtly culture and the so-called universal histories of *Puranas*, that ultimately have to be looked at in a totality.

The recently published *Textures of Time* by Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman and Sanjay Subrahmanyam is yet another venture in this direction that has attempted to explore the various modes of historical consciousness that had existed in different regional settings of South India during the late eighteenth century. By selecting the hitherto neglected literary narratives as source material these scholars have brought into focus the presence of history in modes of narration that was webbed into a "texture" and posited to understand the tradition of history writing in the pre-modern times. The authors' have noted that these narratives were usually presented in bardic epic mode that exemplified the importance of the tradition of memory that was continually remembered, refashioned and systematically re-narrated as a predominant mode of expressing the historical processes of change. These modes then show the interplay of historical causality and the relative importance of the individual actors therein. It is noted that in its repetitive form, the event was reworked in these texts to be presented in different ways shifting its genre from one mode to another as it moved from one social milieu to another. Hence, the authors' suggest that one should look for the presence of historical moments in these narratives as they open up to a "trans-temporal temporality".³⁸ Though not directly related to our period of study, nonetheless, the points raised in this work are crucial for our understanding as it helps us to envisage how historical events in genealogies have been memorized and represented in different contexts of time and place. This will ultimately help us

to underscore the presence of a developed historical sense that had evolved in the sources of our study. Thus, these recent trends in opening up discussion around history writing in pre-modern South Asia provide an essential background and further motivate us to take up the study of genealogies of ruling families that could exemplify, yet another complex narrative mode used in the inscriptions as well as literature of the time, to remember and re-articulate the past, both as representation and reality keeping in mind the contemporary circumstances. Therefore, in this study we intend to look at both the mythical and the historical pasts as represented in the genealogies as they equally reflect the ideal world-view of ruling elite and their pragmatic control of respective territories in the pre-colonial India.

II

For our comprehension of genealogies as historical narratives and their significant uses in different periods of time and space in the context of the present study, we have primarily relied upon the inscriptional sources of the period belonging to and issued by both the major and minor Chajukyan families who ruled over different parts of the Deccan. Among the major families, we have focused on the looking at the inscriptions of the Chajukyas of Badami, Chajukyas of Vengi and Chajukyas of Kalyani. Though the Chajukyas of Gujarat were also regarded as one of the major branches of the Chajukyan families yet, we made a conscious omission of studying the inscriptions of this family primarily because the political and territorial control of this family lay outside the geographical boundaries of the Deccan region. Among the minor Chajukyan families we have scrutinized some of the inscriptions of the Chajukyas of Vemulavada, the Chajukyas of Mudigonda, the Chajukyas of Nidadavolu and the Chajukyas of Jananathapuram. While considering the minor Chalukyan families, we made similar exemptions by excluding the study of inscriptions of the Chajukyas of Elamanchili and Srikurmam who ruled over rather small territorial units in the Eastern Deccan. This was mainly because the rule of these families is located beyond the chronological framework of what we have defined as the early medieval.

There are several hundred inscriptions of the Chalukyan families and to include all of them in an exhaustive way in this study is beyond the scope of this thesis. Hence, we have adopted a selective approach by choosing only those inscriptions that have the genealogies as part of the *prasasti* sections of the kings of the families under consideration. The other inscriptions that are concerned only with prescriptions relating to grants and do not make any reference to genealogies have been omitted for the present study. A majority of the inscriptions available under study are in Sanskrit though in the later period, i.e., around the 11th-12th centuries AD Kannada and Telugu vocabulary came to be used along with Sanskrit, particularly in the genealogical portions of the inscriptions. The script and characters of these inscriptions was in Kannada and old Telugu that is commonly understood as suggestive of the formative periods of the vernaculars. Most of these inscriptions have been edited and some of them have also been translated in various journals/ annual reports. The bulk of inscriptions examined by us have been obtained from the following epigraphic journals/ annual reports: 1) *Annual Reports of Epigraphy*, 2) *Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series*, 3) *Bharati*, 4) *Epigraphia Andhrica*, 5) *Epigraphia Indica*, 6) *Indian Antiquary*, 7) *Journal of Andhra Historical Society*, 8) *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*, 9) *Copper Plate Inscriptions of the Andhra Pradesh State Museums*, and 10) *South Indian Inscriptions*. These inscriptions have been collected and diligently edited, transliterated and translated since the year 1894 by a galaxy of eminent epigraphists like J. F. Fleet, Lewis Rice, E. Hultzsch, H. Keilhorn, Lionel D. Barnett, R. G. Bhandarkar, G. S. Gai, P. B. Desai, H. Krishna Sastri, D. C. Sircar, V. Venkayya, N. Venkataramanayya, B. V. Krishna Rao, N. Ramesan, P. V. Parabrahma Sastry among others. In order to understand the difficult terminology used in the inscriptions, D. C. Sircar's monumental *Epigraphical Glossary* (Delhi, 1966) has been consulted. In further encountering difficult vocabulary we have consulted *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* edited by Monier Williams, H. H. Wilson and C. P. Brown's *Telugu- English Dictionary*. Literary sources of the region, particularly biographies such as *Vikramankadeva Carita* of Bilhana and *Kiratarjuniyam* of Bharavi have been also used to juxtapose the inscriptional texts with the literary texts of the period.

Inscriptions selected for the purpose of our study contains three important components, namely, (a) the Preamble, (b) the Notification and (c) the Conclusion.³⁹ In the Preamble section are found the *prasastis* of ruling families in which the genealogical information forms the core and is often found interwoven with both the mythological⁴⁰ and the historical elements⁴¹ that are, on many occasions, eulogistic in nature. The second part, Notification deals with the specifications related to the donations of grant given to the donees, their family and educational background and the list of witnesses present at the time of transaction. The third part namely Conclusion deals with imprecatory verses, and the names of the writer, executor and composer of the grant.⁴²

Hitherto, when epigraphists/historians began their studies in the nineteenth century, they looked at inscriptions as a relatively more authentic source of information for constructing the history of the early medieval period. Further, the absence of abundant literary material for this period also made these scholars rely heavily on inscriptional sources. In this regard, the inscriptions of the early medieval period came to be treated as a bridge between the earlier forms of recording the past in literary traditions and the later forms of literature available in a re-articulated form for the medieval period.⁴³ However, the aim of the scholars writing during this period, using epigraphy as a source, was to make crucial contributions to historical positivism.⁴⁴ The importance of inscriptions as 'knowledge base' for providing 'authentic' historical information for a later generation of historians writing in the 20th century cannot be understated. In fact, in the words of Fleet, one of the most prolific epigraphists had remarked that: "for our knowledge of ancient political history we are indebted only to inscriptions and not to any history works bequeathed to us by the Hindus"⁴⁵ and this was a maxim diligently followed by his successors.

Thus, inscriptions became the prime source for historians to create the fundamental structures and outlines of political history as the backbone of all historical narratives. This trend continued until 1960's. More recently, information relating to the functioning of temple institutions, the role of social groups in religious patronage, the agrarian social and economic set up, and the nature of political structures has also been extracted from the epigraphic record and occasionally, subjected to statistical analysis.⁴⁶ However, we argue that on

account of their unique value as sources it is essential for the historian to acquire a clear knowledge of basic aspects of inscriptions, including their traditional contents, namely, the eulogies that often contain mythical characterizations. Hitherto, when scholars used inscriptions as "hard core" evidence⁴⁷ they invariably presented these eulogies, because of their appearance on stone and metal, within an empiricist frame work of dynastic chronology. This made a study of inscriptional eulogies in their totality, according to Daud Ali, "a particularly underdeveloped domain in the study of South Asian history, which is ironic given their remarkable number".⁴⁸

In the context of our study, we have treated inscriptional texts with special value, primarily because when we juxtapose the *prasastis* of epigraphs with the literary traditions as embedded in the *Caritas* or *Mahakavyas*, we notice similarities and linkages between them. This is so, especially in the way they deal with different aspects of the past. Both these sources contain collective statements of the past that is based on, what Bernard Lewis calls, as 'Remembered History'. This emphasizes on memory rather than history in its strict sense.⁴⁹ Secondly, both the epigraphic and the literary texts use the *itihasa-purana* tradition extensively, which also comes to be categorized as historical memory to describe the different aspects of the "imagined" past of the ruling elites as revealed through their dynastic/ genealogical traditions. There is no doubt therefore,, that these are of particular interest to our study as most of the political, economic and cultural life was centered around the royal courts which naturally want to perpetuate the elite intellectual traditions.⁵⁰ Both these sources narrate activities and events of the past that of some interest to us but, they do so in ways that were meaningful and useful to their contemporary audience.⁵¹ Inscriptions, just like medieval court literature, are also forms of discourse that contain representations of the self and the world.⁵² Since they are only representations it is important for us to delineate the complex mechanisms of how these images of the past were constructed and used. And it is for this reason that it is crucial for the historians to recognize the social and political aspirations they embody along with the ideology they convey.⁵³ Thus, by examining, or rather, re-looking at the narratives of both the inscriptional and the literary texts, we can analyze the notions of the past that the ancient ruling elites had recorded in these sources.

Despite similarities, there are also certain dissimilarities between the inscriptional and the literary sources. For instance, unlike literary texts, inscriptions record the exact time of their issue, which can be dated back to the time at which they were actually pronounced.⁵⁴ This renders a comparatively greater authenticity to this source than to the literary texts. Inscriptions of the early medieval period also documented various types of donations given to religious and non-religious groups. A history constructed from this perspective, therefore, assigns greatest weight to the documented activities of the historical individuals rather than merely to the normative ideals prevalent in much of the contemporary literature.⁵⁵ Further, unlike literary texts that were in private possession, the contents of inscriptions were communicated to a larger public. Therefore, they were treated with special value by the ruling elites for asserting their supreme power through self-glorification, and thus make their authority acceptable to the common people.⁵⁶ The distribution of inscriptions in different geographical settings, to some degree also help us to gauge various socio-cultural practices, particularly the way genealogies get defined in different smaller spatial contexts, during the early medieval period.

The 'early medieval' has often being depicted in the early modern writings⁵⁷ as a "dark period", primarily because this period was devoid of what entailed greatness in terms of a so-called "empire" based state structures. Therefore, a study on this period was marginalized in the writings of conventional historians. However, in recent researches⁵⁸ the potentiality of this period as a dynamic phase in Indian history has been realized, particularly since, as argued by B. D. Chattopadhyaya, it envisages elements of continuity and change in the political, economic, social and religious realms that in many ways defined the formation of many regional state systems. Significantly, therefore, this period has been labeled as a "Transitional" phase between the ancient and the medieval periods. Chronologically, the 'early medieval' is located in the time bracket of the 6th century AD to the 13th century AD. This broad demarcation of time has been adopted by us to demarcate both elements of continuity and change in the composition of genealogies of the various Chajukyan families whose rise to political prominence, exactly coincides with what is now commonly termed as the 'early medieval'.

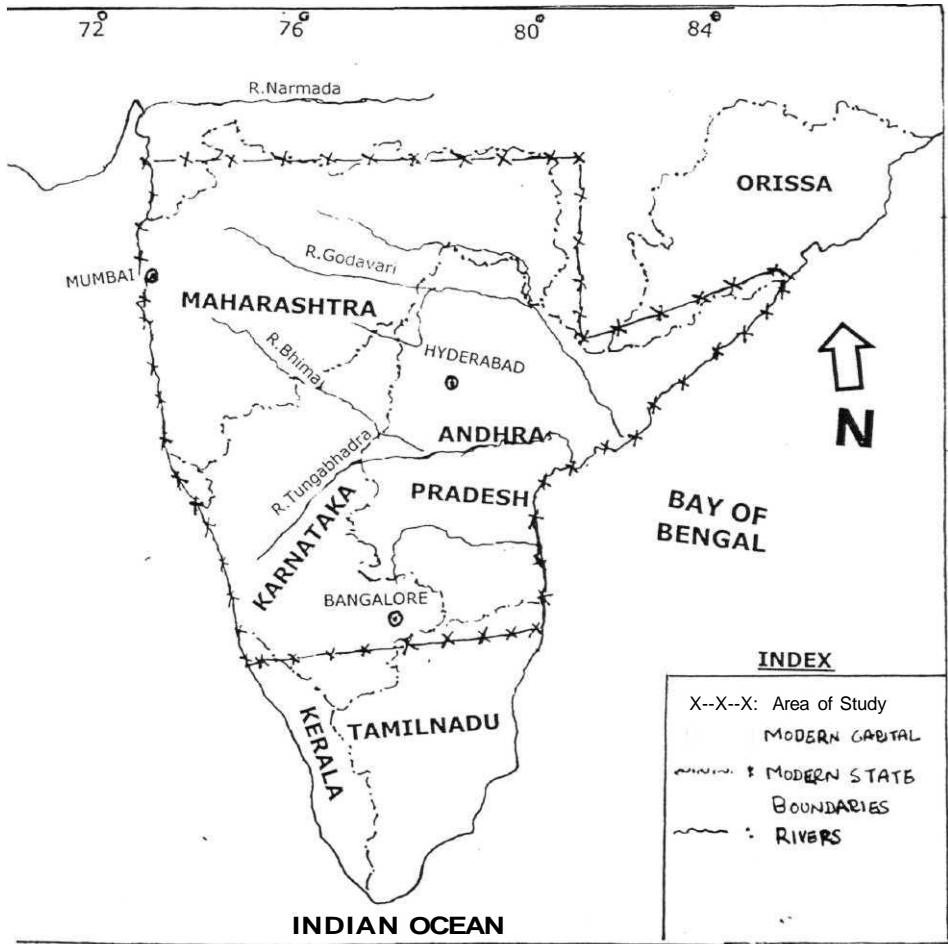
The broad area of our study covers what may be termed as the Deccan that covers within its ambit the modern day linguistic States of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra. Various definitions have been given by earlier scholars⁵⁹ to define the geographical boundaries of the Deccan. However, we have understood the Deccan primarily in its geographical sense as the land south of the Vindhyas up to the Krishna-Tungabhadra Basin⁶⁰ (**MAP I**). The Deccan region with its geographical incongruities has housed many cultures beginning from the Stone Age times. In fact, the Deccan was also the foci for some of the major historical transformations that helped in the formation of new state structures from the early historic to the early medieval period times. This politically and culturally dynamic region was also the original home-land for the Chajukyan dynasties of the present study. Hitherto, Deccan has been a neglected area for historical study particularly during the early medieval period. The focus on the historical research of the Deccan has mainly been for the medieval period thereby ignoring the most critical dimensions of the formation of identities in the Deccan during the early medieval times. The present study, therefore,, aims at contributing to this new interest of looking at regional history in terms of broader than the present day linguistic states and moving beyond a mere chronicling of dynastic history.

The main criteria for taking up a detailed study of the genealogies of the Chajukyan families in particular is because, this was the only family with all its branches, that has sustained and dominated the Deccan for the entire early medieval period. Interestingly, the segmentation of this family into different branches and their proliferation in different geographical pockets of the Deccan enabled them to grow independently, in the territories that were under their respective political control. A mapping and scrutiny of the genealogies of these families would thus depict distinct changes in the way these families remembered their past by the way of describing their ancestry both through the biological and mythical linkages.

The origins of the Chajukyan family have been shrouded in mystery and therefore, nothing is known about them before the 5th century AD. The earliest members of this family, namely, Jayasimha and Ranaraga, made Badami in modern Karnataka as the centre of their political operations around the 5th

MAP 1

AREA OF STUDY



century AD and from then onwards it remained **as the capital of this dynasty**, till it was eclipsed by the Rastrakutas in 757 AD. However, the first well-known king of the family was Pulakesi I, to whom has been attributed the credit of founding of the dynasty. An expansionist policy followed by him and his successors, that extended the geographical boundaries of the kingdom towards the north and the east, made them virtually the rulers of the whole of the Deccan. The first segmentation of the family occurred when Pulakesi II deputed his brothers Kubja Visnuvardhana and Jayasimha to form independent kingdoms at Vengi in the Eastern Deccan and at Gujarat in the north, respectively. This happened during the first half of the 7th century AD and they followed Pulakesi II's ambitious policy of territorial expansion. In the present context, the segmentation of the main Chajukyan lineage can be seen, not as an attempt to break away from the main ruling family, but should be understood as a conscious attempt to disseminate and establish branches of the family in different strategic parts of the Deccan. This also became one of the mechanisms to control the economic base of nuclear areas in the region that had great potential for the exploitation of economic resources located in these parts.

The Chajukyan kingdom in the Eastern Deccan is distinguished from its parent branch in the west by designating it as the Eastern Chajukyias of Vengi who ruled this part of the Deccan from the 7th century AD to the 12th century AD. The members of this family controlled the entire sub-region of the Eastern Deccan stretching from Ganjam in the north to Nellore in the south with the micro-region of Vengi, situated between the fertile tracts of the rivers Krishna and Godavari, as the core of their kingdom.

Another important branch of the Chalukyan family that is considered to be significant for the present study is that of the Western Chajukyias of Kalyani whose political ascendancy took place around 973 AD with the disintegration of the Rastrakuta power in the Western Deccan. The Western Chalukyas of Kalyani ruled from their core area at Kalyani, which was made their capital. One significant point about this family is that its earliest member Taila II, who *came into political prominence after a vacuum created for nearly two centuries*,

interestingly, claimed to be the scion of the Chajukyas of Badami. Therefore, it is significant to study the genealogies of this family because of their apparent biological linkages with the progenitors of the first Chajukyan family. On the other hand, the Chajukyas of Vemulavada emerged as an independent branch and controlled the areas corresponding to the modern Karimnagar district in Andhra Pradesh with Vemulavada as their capital from the 8th century AD to the 10th century AD. Though this minor dynasty established genealogical linkages with the Badami Chajukyas, yet their political allegiance was more inclined towards the Rastrakutas. This was perhaps due to their chronological and geographical proximity to the latter. Further, throughout their history, this family remained strong opponents of the Chajukyas of Vengi.

Political ambitions of some of the members of the Vengi Chajukyan family also led to their break away from the main branch only to form collateral branches of the minor Chajukyan families during the 9th-10th centuries AD. Some of these families include the Chajukyas of Mudigonda, the Chajukyas of Nidadavolu and the Chajukyas of Jananathapuram. The Chajukyas of Mudigonda controlled the areas surrounding Mudigonda and Koravi that corresponds to the present parts of the Khammam and the Warangal districts of Andhra Pradesh from the 9th century AD to the 12th century AD. On the other hand, the Chajukyas of Nidadavolu exercised their political authority over the areas around Bezwada, and Dendalur during the 11th century AD to the 14th century AD. The Chajukyas of Jananathapuram who came into political prominence during the 12th century AD commanded the areas of Rajahmundry, Pithapuram and Draksharamam with Jananathapuram as their capital and ruled up to the 13th century AD. The study of these minor Chajukyan families is interesting, as it provides us an opportunity to analyse the way these families tried to remember or even 'forget', their genealogical linkages with the major Chajukyan families of Badami, Vengi and Kalyani.

Hitherto, several scholars like N. Venkataramanayya⁶¹, B. V. Krishna Rao⁶², N. Ramesan⁶³, Krishna Murari⁶⁴, D. P. Dikshit⁶⁵, K. V. Ramesh⁶⁶, M.

Krishna Kumari⁶⁷, K. Suryanarayana⁶⁸ and Birendra Kumar Singh⁶⁹ have studied the history of both the major and minor Chajukyan families of the Deccan. However, in all these writings a positivist methodological approach has been conventionally followed. Hence, we find that the study of genealogies in these works has been used primarily to chronicle dynastic and political history so as to solve the problems of the chronology of these individual families. As far as the mythical genealogies in the inscriptions are concerned they have simply discarded these as mere fanciful concoctions that do not help in writing any history. Our study therefore, does not aim at a mere re-writing of political history of these dynasties, but attempts to unravel the complex nature of genealogies to understand them as a 'source for writing social history' by focussing on elements of change and continuities in these sources.

For the purpose of this study we have analyzed the genealogical information of the *prasastis* by classifying them into different TYPES yjz., TYPE I, TYPE II, TYPE III and TYPE IV. In **TYPE I**, we have first taken up for a description the mythical genealogies of Chajukyias where the members of the various Chajukyan families mention their identity in terms of lineage (*gotra*), matronymic, family (*kula* or *varpsa*), without giving any details about each of these social signs of identity formation. The historical genealogy, where a systematic list of the immediate ancestors of the king issuing the record up to three generations, namely, the great grand father, grand father and the father of the king, is also enumerated in this TYPE. **TYPE II**, is more or less similar to TYPE I except that now the historical genealogy becomes lengthy with the list of ancestors mentioned ranging between four to thirty generations. Considerably, different from these two TYPES is TYPE III. In **TYPE III**, we notice that, for the first time, reference to the origins of the mythical founders of the Chalukyan families, namely, Manavya, Harita and Chajukya is made. Secondly, for the first time, semi-historical genealogies of a pan-Indian importance were incorporated into the genealogical account. Apart from this, lengthy historical genealogies as first found in TYPE II also continue in this TYPE. In total contrast with TYPES I, II and III is **TYPE IV**. In this TYPE, we have noticed that only the mythical genealogy is mentioned. In fact, in this TYPE, in discordance with the earlier TYPES, the mention of the *gotra* is discarded and the family name *Chalukya*

kula is now replaced with the term *Satyasraya kula*. The other two elements found in the other TYPES, like the historical genealogy and the semi-historical genealogy are also completely absent in this TYPE. While understanding the characterization of these TYPES, the present study has focused on both changes and continuities in the different TYPES of genealogies. Thus, for an effective analysis of these changes as evinced from the descriptions of genealogies of the ruling families in different TYPES, we have divided the study into two broad **Phases**, namely, **Phase 1** and **Phase 2**.

Phase 1 covers the period from about the 6th to the 10th century AD. In this Phase, we have two TYPES of genealogies, namely, TYPES I and II. For TYPE I, we have studied the genealogies belonging to the Chajukyas of Badami and the Eastern Chajukyas of Vengi. Genealogies belonging to this TYPE are found between the 6th century AD and the first half of the 9th century AD. These are predominantly found between the 7th to the 9th century AD that formed the peak period of this Phase. From the 9th century AD onwards the occurrence of this TYPE gradually disappears. Simultaneously, one has also noticed the emergence of TYPE II genealogies from the latter half of the 7th century onwards clearly indicating that there was an overlap period when both TYPE I and TYPE II genealogies co-existed. For TYPE II, we have examined the genealogies belonging to the later rulers of the Badami Chajukyan family, some rulers of the Eastern Chajukyas of Vengi and those belonging to the Chajukyas of Vemulavada. Genealogies belonging to TYPE II are largely noticed between the last quarter of the 7th century AD and the 10th century AD. This constituted its peak period and thus almost totally overlaps with the peak period of TYPE I. In Phase 1, therefore, a critical time for the standardization of genealogy formation was between the 7th and the 10th centuries AD. It is also significant to note that no semi-historical genealogies are found in this phase but the mythical genealogies formed an almost integral part as they were prefixed to the historical genealogies.

Phase 2 of our study falls between the 11th and the 12th century AD. Even in this Phase, we have two different TYPES of genealogies, namely, TYPES III and IV. In TYPE III, we have scrutinized the genealogies belonging to the dynasties of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, the Western Chajukyas of Kalyani, and the minor Chajukyan families of Mudigonda, Nidadavolu and Jananathapuram

who ruled over relatively small geographical areas in the Eastern Deccan. Genealogies of this TYPE began to emerge from the 11th century AD and continued up to the 12th century AD. Interestingly, this period also coincides with the emergence of TYPE IV genealogies that have been exclusively found in the records belonging to the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani and their subordinates. The nature of the mythical genealogy as prefixed to the historical one changes during this phase and further, the semi-historical genealogies emerge in a big way especially in the *prasastis* of the main Chalukyan families and in some of the minor Chalukyan chiefs.

In order to amplify the changes in both phases and in different TYPES, we have proposed to carry out our analysis of the inscriptional data at two levels.

At the first level of data analysis, we have collected information from the inscriptions that has been charted out on the basis of the main themes based on genealogies, conquests, patronage patterns and ideology. This information has been plotted out in charts accompanying the four chapters on these themes. Charts on genealogy (**Chart IA, IB**) entitled 'Genealogies of the Chalukyan Families', mainly depict information pertaining to mythical genealogy, semi-historical genealogy and historical genealogy beside adding column on date given in terms of the era and the regnal year of the king. Mythical and historical genealogies are further fragmented to analyze different notions of time that were intrinsic to them. Thus, under the mythical genealogy we have components like the *gotra*, matronymic and *kula*. Similarly, the historical genealogy has been sub-divided into two columns, namely, number of generations and linkage with the parent branch. This fragmentation of data into minute details provided us the crucial clue to analyze the ruling elites perceptions of their 'real' and 'imagined' past and to further analyze how this information enabled them to establish a composite identity called Chajukyas.

To comprehend the next aspect on conquests in the charts (**Chart HA, IIB**) entitled 'Conquests, Titles and Marriage Alliances', we made charts on the basis of which, we are able to analyze migrations and spatial control effected through conquests undertaken by the ruling elite. To elaborate this information

this chart includes basic information such as military conquests, titles, political symbols and marriage alliances. The column on titles is broken further into the military titles, imperial titles and others that include titles comparing the king with gods and epic heroes. This information is further depicted against the sub-columns on ancestor and the king. This is crucial to analyze 'real' and the 'formulaic' claims made by the ruling elite about their past and contemporary achievements and also to demarcate the extent of political and spatial control the kings exercised.

Thirdly, to comprehend the patronage patterns we have another chart (**Charts IIIA, IIIB**) entitled 'Patronage and Nature of Grants'. In these charts, we have culled out information pertaining to the various types of donors, donees, nature of the grant, location of the grant and a column indicating the time on which the grant was issued. This information is discussed against the backdrop of different TYPES of genealogies so as to get a comprehensive understanding of the changes and continuities in patronage patterns asserted by these ruling families and to explicate the impact of socio-economic factors on genealogies.

Finally, in the chart on ideology (**Chart IVA, IVB**), entitled 'Pan-Indian Symbols and Beliefs', we have categorized various aspects related to Pan-Indian symbols, belief systems, and festivals as available from the *prasastis*. The column on pan-Indian linkages is fragmented into Vedic sacrifices, knowledge systems and analogies. We have further sub-divided the column on analogies that the kings drew with the Gods on one hand, and the Puranic and Epic heroes on the other hand. This information aids our comprehension of how pan-Indian elements were described in different TYPES of genealogies. Similarly, under belief systems we have included sub-columns like religious titles of the kings, worship of the gods and goddesses and boons that the Chalukyan kings claimed to have acquired through the favor of various gods and goddesses. This crucially explains to us the pan-regional linkages that the kings established through their acceptance of certain ideologies and forms of worship. To follow the data clearly, we have provided different symbols in each chart to represent our data. We wish to underscore in this regard that having divided our study into various themes and categories, we do not however,

propose to study these issues in compartments, independent of each other. All the above aspects have been integrated with information pertaining to different TYPES of genealogies, delineated for the present study in order to get a comprehensive picture of continuities and changes in the textual analysis. To chart out the comprehensive inscriptional data, we have made use of the computer.

At the second level of our endeavor, to effectively interpret the vast data collected from inscriptions, we have presented this in the form of seven Chapters.

In CHAPTER I, entitled **INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES**, we have two sections. In the first section, we delineate the broad aims of the study in terms of the essential argument. We next endeavor in this section to define genealogy and elaborate on some of the theoretical issues pertaining to a comprehension of what is meant by historical narratives, memory and notions of time that constitute the core components of constructing genealogies. Apart from this we also, provide as background, some of the recent writings that interpretative level motivate us to undertake this study. In the second section of this Chapter, we discuss the sources used, period and area of study. Further, we also focus on the methodological approach adopted for the study in some detail. We end this chapter by a brief outline of the intending chapters in the thesis.

In CHAPTER II, entitled **HISTORIOGRAPHY**, we initiate the discussion with the modern notion of time as linear time that has become the central format in presenting all scientific historical narratives today. In this regard, we first intend to look at the writings of the Imperialists and administrative scholars and the briefly discuss their influence on the Nationalist historians. However, in the major part of this Chapter, we focus on the historiographical trends as they emerged in the writing of history at the regional level. In this regard, we first analyze the writings that dealt with the composite history of the Deccan as a whole, than on the separate history of Andhra or Karnataka. Next, we highlight the writings of scholars who wrote on the Andhra or Karnataka history, but not within the present day linguistic divisions of these States. Thirdly, we discuss the post-Independent writings that studied the

political history of the Chajukyan dynasty, in particular. However, since our study is based on social history, we also take a close look at the writings on social history pertaining to the period and region of our study. Simultaneously, we interrogate social and economic histories of India as a whole that have built their narrative accounts based primarily on inscriptions.

This historiographical survey, helps us also to highlight on recent approaches in history writing that provide a new dimension to interpret the social history of ruling elites. An attempt is made to focus on the most recent writings that provide a major shift in the process of history writing especially, at the interpretational level. Further, these writings look at the method of history writing as it existed in the pre- colonial Indian context by juxtaposing the same with modern concerns of history writing, that we wish to highlight upon.

In CHAPTER III entitled, **GENEALOGY, TIME AND IDENTITY**, we focus on the different notions of **time** as they came to be conceptualized and reckoned in genealogies. To understand this we describe and analyze genealogies of the ruling families as noted through their mention in the inscriptional and literary sources of the present study. Hence, we categorized the genealogies to contain three broad elements. We describe these as the mythical genealogy, the semi-historical genealogy and finally, the historical genealogy. As this information is dependent on the sources that belonged primarily to the ruling elite, it naturally examines the way time was conceived and reckoned among these dominant socio-political groups to reflect on their particular pasts. As heads of Kingdoms and States they found it necessary to shape the historical past so as to also control it. It may be noted at the outset that the conception of time met with in the sources under study is not unitary or homogeneous. Several levels and changes are perceptible in this regard, which shall be discussed and highlighted by us from an in depth study of the data on hand. In fact, it is found that the various units and events by which temporal duration was oriented was also invariably linked with the construction of an **identity** of an individual, a group or a community. This further enhanced the importance of maintaining genealogies as it emphasized on what people who composed them believed to be their social history in the pre-modern times. Hence, a retrospective dimension of the real or fabricated genealogies of

the ruling elite, in our view, becomes a particularly important to study, in order to comprehend identity formation of the ruling elite. Therefore, a complementary aspect of analysis in this Chapter is to try and understand how this was achieved by the ruling elites under consideration within a specific spatial and chronological context. Such a study, is significant for the early medieval context, which as a period of transition from the ancient to the medieval, provides the right setting for analyzing how the Chalukyan families, which had ruled over the different parts of the Deccan, had conceptualized their past in relation to their present, also, in relation to their location in particular regions and their linkages with a pan-Indian ethos.

In CHAPTER IV, which is on **CONQUESTS, MIGRATIONS AND SPATIAL EXPANSION**, we closely take a look at the notion of **space** as distinct from the analytical categories of time and identity discussed in the earlier Chapter. To understand this we investigate in depth the political and social mechanisms that came to be widely used as claims for greatness and points of validation by most of the newly emerged ruling elites. By political mechanisms, we refer to those eulogistic accounts such as military achievements, titles and political symbols, which the court poets often used to glorify and elevate the status of their patrons and their ancestors. In the inscriptions this information is appended to the genealogical lore that formed an integral component of the *prasastis*. This study assumes great significance because it effectively attempts to analyze the twin issues of (1) migrations and spatial expansion these families and (2) the attempts to retrospect the events of the past in describing the greatness of the king and his ancestors, and how this became crucial to the contemporary situation in which the records were written. Done in correlation with the different TYPES of genealogies, delineated for the present study, this process of analysis enables us to understand how elements of these issues continued or changed with each TYPE of genealogy to which this information was suffixed. In ultimate analysis, it is hoped to delineate how control of new areas through migration and conquests led to expansion in new spatial areas as effected by these ruling families.

The second part of the focus in this Chapter is on a detailed description and analysis of the social mechanisms through which the process of control was

exercised over the conquered territories. By social mechanisms, we refer to the marriage alliances, which the Chajukyan ruling elites purposely contracted with the other major ruling dynasties or the powerful local chiefs of the region. Marriage alliances in this regard, can be considered as crucial socio-political acts that were effected by the ruling elites to consolidate their claims of control on new territories initially acquired through military conquests.

In CHAPTER IV entitled **PATRONAGE, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTROL**, we focus on the grant portion of the inscription. This is important because, neither the *prasasti* nor, the genealogical content of it is an autonomous or isolated segment of an epigraph and is invariably linked to the grant portion of an inscription. In this Chapter, we emphasize on looking at both the notion of time and space that is different from what has been used in the earlier Chapters. In contrast to Chapter III and IV, where we have dealt with the larger units of cosmological and historical time and space respectively, in this Chapter we look at the smaller units of time and space that are expressed in terms of year, month, fortnight, weekday and the lunar day and so on in localities like villages, towns, etc. This understanding of time and space is important as this addresses to issues of a more pragmatic concern that are suffixed to different TYPES of genealogical narratives. These attempts at noting specific units of time and space were part of demarcating economic and political control that was crucial as it provided authenticity to the ruling elite claims for an identity by locating it in a specificity. Thus expressing control over the region that had been conquered had to be effectively made part of a complex administrative, social and political order.

Thus with regard to space, we must necessarily focus on the control of smaller units such as villages and fields, as against the larger territorial expansion and control dealt in Chapter IV. Territorial extension and the control of the larger units of space through socio-political mechanisms of military conquests and marriage alliances was one aspect of exerting control. Therefore, in this Chapter we move on to explain how control of these smaller units was equally important and rooted in local and regional issues. This was made possible through a pragmatic and effective approach of patronage

patterns and therefore, making note of small units of time was integral to this exercise.

We initiate the analysis in this Chapter, with an understanding of the patronage patterns that reflect on how the different Chajukyan families exerted social and economic control through giving land grants. Consequently, the impact of patronage patterns on the shaping of the genealogy of the ruling families and their political and social objectives can be assessed. To understand these processes of control, the information from the grant portion of the inscriptions has been categorized by us as follows: 1) donor- donee linkages, 2) nature of grant and its location 3) information on other social groups who figure chiefly in as witnesses to the grant. We analyze these different categories in the two broad phases of change to envisage how patronage patterns and socio-economic control was manifested in different TYPES of genealogies.

Our main thrust in CHAPTER VI, on **IDEOLOGY, REGION AND PAN-INDIAN LINKAGES**, is on ideological variables that cement the regional identities of the Chajukya families with pan-Indian linkages to ultimately formulate how these families defined themselves and their past. It is understood that to make the political power stable, conquests and spatial control, economic and social control are not the sole factors since the ruling elites also need legitimization through ideology to elevate their status and establish regional and pan-Indian identities. Hence, to analyze this aspect of ideology, we come back to draw upon those elements in the *prasastis* of inscriptions that were found alongside the genealogical and politico-military information. These elements reflect on certain well-founded ideological and cultural traits and beliefs as found, on the one hand, in the Vedic and the *Itihasa-Purana* tradition of ancient times and, on the other, in the local traditions. In inscriptions, one notices that the genealogical information, which formed the core of the narrative in the *prasastis*, is most often interwoven with both mythical and historical elements that are both marked on many occasions with an eulogistic flavor.

To understand this we have categorized the data in this chapter into three broad categories: 1) Pan-Indian linkages, 2) Beliefs systems at the regional or local level and 3) Festivals. These are important for our comprehension as they reflect on the complex play of how the ideology of the ruling elite was consciously making attempts to dialogue between regional and pan-Indian traditions. Further, we assume that such a study would enable us to comprehend broad elements of changes and continuities through out the period of our study.

In the last CHAPTER, which is on **RECAPITULATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS**, after summarizing the major conclusions of each Chapter, we highlight the major contributions of the present work in terms of understanding the importance of **Genealogy as a Source for Writing Social History**. The major conclusions are followed by a list of all the sources consulted by us in the process of writing this thesis. This is presented in the form of a consolidated **BIBLIOGRAPHY**. This thesis is also accompanied by three **MAPS** indicating the area of study and the spatial extent of the respective Chajukyan kingdoms in two broad phases and eight **APPENDICES** illustrating the genealogical tables of the Chalukyan families under consideration. These are attached at the end of Bibliography.

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written and refers to such aspects as reign period of the king, his military expeditions and so on.

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CHAPTER- II

HISTORIOGRAPHY

The modern method of history writing has basically been formulated by the West. In this new method 'history' came to be defined within the framework of 'positivism' that had its genesis in the discourse of Enlightenment and the rise of nation states in Europe. Positivism has been defined as a philosophy that emphasized on a strict presentation of facts¹, which according to Ranke formed the 'supreme law of historical writing'.² The concern for facts in historical writing can further be gauged when E. H. Carr pertinently points out that history must necessarily consist of a 'corpus of ascertained facts'.³ The influence of Enlightenment on the Positivists had two significant effects. First, it took history closer to natural sciences by applying scientific analysis to the study of facts in the human sciences, just as it had come to be done in the natural sciences. This necessarily gave rise to a new scientific method of writing history primarily based on empiricism. Second, the process of salvaging the facts in a scientific way and presenting them in a sequential order with reference to linear time became the central issue in presenting the historical narrative. The popularity of the positivist method of writing history in Europe may be noticed significantly in the Indological discourse on Indian history.

The purpose for which history writing was taken up by the Indologists and Orientalist writers was to define the past of the colonized. They, however, in the process developed and defined the parameters within which the discipline of History came to be understood in the country ever since. An important implication of this was the colonial projection of Indians lacking in historical sense and this finds its acceptance in several of the historical writings of modern Indians as well. In this Chapter, however, we propose to survey the various historiographical trends as they emerged at the regional level with Deccan as the focus. In this regard, we have endeavored to delineate first, the writings that present a

composite history of the Deccan as a whole. This is then followed by the writings of those scholars who have written regional history within the framework of linguistic regions like Andhra and Karnataka, but not necessarily within the present-day linguistic divisions of these States, which were demarcated only after independence. We next look at post-Independent writings by narrowing down particularly, to those works that focused on the history of the Chajukyas, before probing into the writings of the social and Marxist historians on the region. Finally, we look at the most recent type of historical writings that have provided a conceptual shift in the way historians should look at the past especially, by highlighting the indigenous perceptions of history writing. Importantly, one has attempted here to investigate these various approaches to comprehend how scholars have dealt with genealogical traditions of ruling elites as explicated in the epigraphical and literary sources. This particular focus has been to understand the efforts made by historians hitherto, to capture how the ruling elites fabricated and maintained historical knowledge that had enabled them to establish identities. This last aspect constitutes the most vital issue we need to analyze in our research and therefore, forms a critical part of our review in this Chapter.

Initially, an interest to write about India and its past among the Europeans had generated from the need to understand the so-called 'native' laws, customs and traditions that were considered essential in carrying out an efficient administration of the subject colony. As a result many European scholars like William Jones, Charles Wilkins, H. T. Colebroke and H. H. Wilson explored into the classical literature of India and found significant philological similarities between Sanskrit and European languages. An important consequence of the strenuous research of these scholars primarily led to the exposition and publication⁴ of massive literary source material that spoke about the ancient Indian past. However, the interpretations of the Indian philosophical and literary texts by them aroused two schools of thought within the Oriental discourse. One was led by the cynical Utilitarians. The other was directed by the sympathetic Romanticists led by William Jones, Max Muller and others who advocated both critical as well as a sympathetic view of India's past.⁵

In the writings of the Romanticists India came to be epitomized as a land of spirituality and idealism that distinguished it from the materialistic West. In this interpretation, a close affinity between Sanskrit and European languages provided them the ground for formulating the belief in the common origin theory of an 'Aryan race' from which the Europeans and Brahmins were said to have originated. Therefore, in this understanding India of Sanskrit, the Brahmins and their texts were looked upon as arbiters in interpreting the Indian past. However, despite their sensitivity to Indian civilization, one significant contradiction that emerged in their understanding of the Indian past was that of essentializing and distancing India from what the essence of the West stood for. This was done by magnifying elements such as caste, religion and other such aspects that temporally disassociated India from Europe's present and this made it unchanging, passive and incapable of achieving "progress".⁶ Thus, it can be deduced that though the Romanticists appear to be sympathetic by their genuine respect and love for India and its language, at the same time, they based their central arguments on the basis of India's opposition to Europe.

The second important school that emerged within the Oriental discourse was the Imperialist ideologically supported by the Utilitarians who appeared rather cynical about India and its past. The Imperialist and Administrator writers governed by the principles of Positivism and Universalism applied a stringent scientific method to judge the Indian past. This, they did within a certain theoretical framework based on Euro-centric ideas and images. A natural corollary of this was the representation of the spiritual and sensuous India as an opposite of the materialistic and rational West. Naturally, therefore, in this conception India came to be often portrayed as a land inferior to the West especially, in terms of their lacking a sense of history and therefore, of the linearity of progressions. Further, in their colonizing efforts they even tried to depict India as an uncivilized, barbaric and rude nation. In other words, this binary opposition of the "self and the "other" in the East-West construct was aimed at justifying the British conquest of India. The imperialist writers staunchly believed that a change or transformation of Indian society could be effected mainly through government legislation and secondly, through the process of "inventing" its history and

civilization in terms of founding essences invulnerable to historical change. In both efforts the aim was to exercise their power over the subject people.⁷

In the category of the many Imperialist historians, the prominent were James Mill and Vincent Smith. In his monumental hegemonic account on ***The History of British India*** (1817), Mill paints the picture of Indian society as caste-centric and dominated by Hindu religious ideology, which in his opinion, was unable to transcend the false knowledge and inferior practices of 'primitivism'¹. In this characterization, therefore, Indian society came to be represented as sort of retrograde that did not encourage any progress and remained 'static' and 'unchanging'. An obsession with explaining ills of the Indian society to caste in order to explain India's low political and economic 'development' became a theme of analysis adopted by subsequent scholarship on India. It was his firm opinion that due to cultural inferiority the Indians lacked a sense of history.⁸ It may be noted here that Mill's interpretations on the Indian past were largely based on the theoretical norms of Indian society as laid out in the *Dharmasastric* or ancient legal texts. Secondly, he tried to judge the Indian past by certain utilitarian standards with which he was familiar and therefore, when he failed to notice western values in Indian civilization, he condemned it severely. Lastly, and most importantly, Mill's hegemonic account was intended to prove the cultural superiority of the West over the Orient by representing the 'Other' (the Indian civilization) as radically different from the 'Self that is the West'.⁹

Despite all this, Mill's *History* became the standard work on India and remained so for decades. His assertions about the Indian past as a changeless and a stagnant society where despotic rulers dominated appeared as a standard model in various philosophies of history current in the nineteenth century Europe. For instance, the concept of *Oriental Despotism* and its characterization of the pre-modern Indian State and society as found in Marx's model of the Asiatic Mode of Production was indeed the product of the Imperialist interpretations of Indian history, State and society. In this model, Marx conceptualized pre-modern India as being constituted of an unchanging State that was dominated by self-sufficient village economies, communal ownership of land and internal exploitation of the

village communities. Such a characterization of the pre-modern Indian State, by Marx clearly reflects the strong prejudice held by the Occidentalists towards the Orient.¹⁰

Another important hegemonic account on early Indian history comes several decades after James Mill's seminal work, in the writings of another Administrator writer Vincent Smith, of the early twentieth century. By the time Smith wrote his hegemonic text, enormous source material in the form of inscriptions, archaeology, numismatics, and monuments had been made accessible. Smith understood the immense progress that had been made in this regard for connected systematic history of early India to be now written. With his great fascination towards classical Greek and Roman civilization, he took their achievements to be the yardstick to write about Indian history. Hence, he used such concepts like the '*age of heroes*' and the '*age of empires*' that became the subject matter of his history. Thus, in this interpretation of Indian history, it was the age of Asoka and Chandra Gupta II that became glorious periods for ancient India. The intervening periods that witnessed the rise of small kingdoms were considered by Smith as "dark ages" as these periods represented chaos and lawlessness and failed to produce emperors. Further, Smith's long narrative of Indian political history was largely organized around the trope of invasion and empire -- beginning with Alexander the Great and ending with the British. In such an account of history based on wars and battles, there was naturally an over-emphasis on political and administrative matters than on other aspects like social, cultural or economic history. From the present perspective, he viewed the genealogies of kings as given in the *prasastis* sections of inscription to merely fill up details on political history. Secondly, the political narrative thus constructed was largely north-centric with peninsular India, particularly the Deccan, being only marginally represented. Though much had been written on the theory of the State, kingship and administration, by this time due to the discovery of the *Arthashastra* in 1905, little analytical study was devoted to the actual structure of State during the ancient and early medieval period.¹¹

With regard to the periodization, we find that these scholars took into account the major shifts in the dynasties and religion as the criteria to demarcate Indian history. Thus, we find Mill's periodization of Indian history was categorized into Hindu, Muslim and British. However, in the 150 years since Mill's *History*, the definitive chronologies of India before the Muslim conquests have been constructed largely on the basis of the interpretation of stone and copper-plate inscriptions. Hence, we find in Smith's writings a periodization of Ancient, Medieval and Modern. However, even in his writings Ancient came to be equated with the Hindu period and Medieval with the Muslim period. The early medieval was regarded by him as a period of darkness, as there was an absence of empire based kingdoms during this period. Therefore, it only drew marginal attention.¹² In this schema of periodization dynasties ruling in south of India and the Deccan region and their chronological spans never defined the periodization of the country as a whole. An explanation for such gross negligence of the region has been explained by some scholars to the changing topography of South India, which provided a more complex structure permitting less political uniformity than the less complex structure of the northern plains.¹³

The beginnings of history writing in South India may be attributed to the interest taken by some of the Christian missionaries and some of the enthusiastic British administrators who were posted in the South with the onset of British rule in India. Initiative in this direction had been taken up by the missionaries who, unlike the Utilitarians, did not focus on the State, but carried on a crusade against the inherent backwardness of Indian society that according to them, was rooted in its religion.¹⁴ Through their writings, they attempted to expose the weakness of Indian religion. Further, the missionaries justified the British rule in India by considering it as divinely conceived that had come to rescue a condemned humanity through proselytization and education, which they thought, could bring a radical change in the nature and quality life of Hindustan. The most important writings of the missionaries in the Deccan and Madras Presidency were those of Abbe Dubois, Caldwell, among many others. Though there is controversy¹⁵ with regard to the authorship of Abbe Dubois work on ***Hindu Manners Customs and Ceremonies***, however, the work may be considered as one of the earliest

accounts on South India that attempts to give a vivid description of the various Hindu customs and ceremonies.¹⁶ Thus, the writings of missionaries evinced their inherent motive of spreading Christianity and in this process only produced distorted versions on the Indian past without actually attempting to make an analytical study of the indigenous society.

They (the missionaries) also studied languages and thus played an important role in the "construction" of both literary and inscriptional sources of information. Hence, irrespective of their ideological commitments, the accounts of the missionaries came to be written within a certain perception of 'History'¹, which most Europeans were familiar with since the Enlightenment. They were encumbered by the concern of contrasting the civilized West with the backward and irrational India. They consistently projected that History as a discipline was absent in the traditional society's vision of its past. This then became a motivating factor for them to consciously create new images within a scientific paradigm, so that it became a justification and provided useful tools for the more contemporary interpretations of Indian society.¹⁷

An important contribution with regard to the South Indian history was made by administrators like Col. Mackenzie, C. P. Brown and others who worked in different parts of South India and the Deccan. It may be stated that the appointment of Mackenzie as the Surveyor General of South India in 1796, by the British Government, ushered in a new phase in the writing of the Deccan history. Mackenzie's strenuous endeavors aided by the local clerks, especially the Kavali brothers,¹⁸ resulted in the accumulation of vast source material in the form of stone and copper plate inscriptions, local records and Telugu classics. Another significant outcome of Mackenzie's efforts was that for the first time many young Indian scholars were trained in the scientific method of sifting "facts" and collecting source material. As a result, enormous data from the villages pertaining to details on peasants, revenue, rent, caste, customs, tribes, popular religious practices, family genealogies of various ruling families belonging to different *Samsthanas* and *Zamindaris* were systematically collected. These new sources acquired authenticity due to the fact that they have been generated under the

supervision of state power.¹⁹ A large majority of these collections have been preserved in the form of village *Kaifiyats* popularly known as the ***Mackenzie Manuscripts***. Since these sources were being identified, collected, edited and translated for the first time, not much analytical study could be done by them to understand the nature of the source material and its relevance in writing the history of the ancient Deccan.

The body or data of knowledge thus produced came to be the foundational knowledge base on which later histories were written. This has been significantly discussed in Inden's recent studies on the Indological discourse,²⁰ which according to him was either 'descriptive', 'commentative' or 'hegemonic'. The 'descriptive' accounts of the Indological discourse were described by him as simply describing the sources collected apparently letting them speak for themselves. Therefore, in these accounts the thoughts and acts of objects of study were presented as they were. In this category, we have *Mackenzie's Kaifiyats* that simply note the facts or describe them without any analysis. The second type of accounts are what Inden calls as 'commentative' in nature that provide comments on the thoughts and actions of the people being studied and therefore, consciously bring to the forefront a certain point of view or criticism and bias. The aim of both these types of accounts was quite simple, namely, to provide a true picture of India with certain rational explanations. Most of the writings of the Romanticists may be grouped under latter type. However, in Inden's view it was the 'hegemonic' accounts of the Indological discourse that provided the most critical view about India. According to him, these texts often depicted the thoughts and institutions of the Indians as distortions of normal and natural thoughts that were considered universal but, actually reflected only the Western values and ideas. Thus, these accounts aimed at hegemonizing the Indian thoughts, by putting the data within a consciously formulated theoretical framework, as can be noticed in the accounts of both Mill and Smith. These early explanations thus laid the ideological foundations for the later interpretations of Indian history.

Historical writings on South India and the Deccan received further impetus from 1837 onwards, when James Princep achieved a breakthrough in the

decipherment of the *Brahmi* script that was used for writing many of the early inscriptions. This provided a new scientific outlook for the study of history as a whole. In South India, the study of epigraphical sources began with the initiative taken by the Madras Government to publish inscriptions in journals like the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, *Epigraphia Indica* and *South Indian Inscriptions* that were started solely for this purpose.²¹ Many eminent epigraphists like J. F. Fleet, Lewis Rice, E. Hultzsch, F. Keilhorn, H. Krishna Sastri, V. Venkayya and others endeavored hard to translate, edit and transcribe a good number of inscriptions and interpreted the data thus obtained to construct primarily a political history of South India. The inscriptions, by virtue of their recording specific events and dates came to be treated by most scholars as "hardcore" evidence²² as opposed to less reliable literary sources that provided authentic information and therefore, came to be used largely in constructing the political and dynastic histories of the region within the scientific method of writing history. In fact Fleet, one of the most prolific epigraphists, was so excited about this 'authentic' historical information found in the Indian inscriptions that he wrote: "for our knowledge of ancient political history we are indebted only to inscriptions and not to any history works bequeathed to us by the Hindus".²³

The intensive study of inscriptions on a region-wise basis not only yielded insights into the early political institutions and ideas, but it gave a new focus to the study of regional and local histories. In the present context of the study, eminent epigraphists like J. F. Fleet and E. Hultzsch and others unearthed a large number of inscriptions belonging to various Chalukyan families of the Deccan region. These scholars read and used the genealogies of the ruling elites to mainly address the problem of solving the chronological and succession of the kings belonging to different Chalukyan families that was done in a linear fashion. Indeed, this provided a new dimension to "dynasticize"²⁴ political history within a positivistic framework. As a result, the most crucial issues relating to the notions of time, memory, history embedded in genealogies and their uses in seeking specific identities have been evaded in their writings. Our study that focuses mainly on inscriptional sources aims at re-looking the genealogies of ruling elites and other dominant social groups in the early medieval Deccan to give fresh

insights into the study of social history by taking up the study of the above mentioned issues.

It is pertinent at this juncture to underscore that the Indian response to history writing that emerged during the late 19th and early 20th centuries posed a significant challenge to the earlier interpretations of Indian history in Indological discourses.²⁵ The Indian scholars writing during this period came to be known as the Nationalist historians.²⁶ They vehemently opposed the Imperialist interpretations on Indian history by terming these as deliberate misrepresentations and distortions. Further, they contested the colonial hegemony, by taking up the writing of ancient history of India that was meant to provide in the first place, an opposition to the colonial version of ancient Indian history, and secondly, to revamp the image of India by providing an idyllic picture of ancient India society.²⁷ Another significant feature of the Nationalist writings was the prolific usage of concepts like the "Golden Ages" and the great "Imperial Ages" that have been used in denoting some powerful ruling classes of ancient India.²⁸ Despite their strong opposition to the Imperialist writings on ancient Indian history, they nonetheless, followed the Positivist method and approach advocated by the West. Naturally, therefore, in their interpretations, one can notice that the writing of history was done merely as a process of accumulating "facts" from different source material that was used to write history.

The writings of Nationalist historians nevertheless, had strong ramifications on the regional historians writing on specific regions. Thus, the study of regional histories during this period emerged as a valuable offshoot of nationalist school of historical writing.²⁹ A further fillip to regional history has been provided with the availability of the abundance of source material in the form of archaeological, epigraphic, historical literature, religious literature, archival records and family Papers at the regional level. Significantly, the emergence of regional histories averted major breaks in historical interpretation found in the writings of the nationalist historians. Firstly, generalizations about the sub- continent from the perspective of the Ganges-Valley has been avoided. Secondly, the supposed "dark ages" emphasized in the nationalist historiography could be eliminated by using

local source material.³⁰ Studies on regional histories of small geographical areas and States such as, the histories of Bengal, Maharashtra, Andhra, Karnataka and parts of the peninsula became common towards the mid-twentieth century. In the next few pages, we shall endeavor to survey the historical works pertaining to the Deccan, in particular.

In the conventional works on the Deccan written within the positivistic methodological framework, we primarily begin with those works that deal with the composite history of the Deccan as a whole without necessarily identifying separate historical trends for the Andhra or Karnataka regions. Some of the writings that fall in this category are those of R. G. Bhandarkar, G. J. Dubreuil and G. Yazdani. One finds that all these writings begin with a detailed description on the geography of the Deccan. This is so because, geographically, the peninsular region appeared as a more complex structure to be studied. With its diverse topographical variations, it emerged as a complicated phenomenon for the historians to define the land south of Vindhyas. Until almost the middle of the century, some historians identified the peninsula into two distinct units of study (1) the "Deccan" and (2) "South India". Bhandarkar and Yazdani among others have identified the Deccan with the upper unit of the peninsula. According to them, Deccan is a land lying between the Vindhyas and the Krishna-Tungabhadra deltas. On the other hand, South India was identified with the land south of the Krishna-Tungabhadra region and was broadly confined within the territorial boundaries of the present-day linguistic States of Tamilnadu and Kerala.³¹

Bhandarkar was the first Indian historian to write on the peninsular India with "Dekkan" as its title, in the late 19th century.³² In his study on ***Early History of the Dekkan (1895)***, he identified Deccan as a land mainly confined to the present day Maharashtra region. In his text, the definition of the early historical phase of the Deccan was concerned, prior to the coming of the Aryans. Since his book concentrated mainly on Maharashtra region, the development of historical phase in other parts of the Deccan was given a corner place of study. He was also the first among modern Indian historians to write on ancient Indian history using genealogies of different ruling families for constructing historical narratives on the

political and dynastic history of the Deccan, which was done within the positivist methodology. Thus, while using both the literary and inscriptional sources of his time, he emphasized on providing 'congeries of facts' pertaining to the dates and genealogies of kings in sequential order.³³ In such works therefore, there is a clear reflection of the failure to understand how the ruling elites in the pre-modern times perceived and memorized their past especially, through genealogies that provided them with a sense of the past and identity.

Next important study on the "Deccan" emerged in the writings of G. J. Dubreuil. In his study on the ***Ancient History of the Deccan (1920)***, he has understood the definition of region as "a larger track of country which was bounded on the north by the Narbada and Mahanandi, on the east by the Bay of Bengal, on the west by the Arabian Sea, on the south by the Nilgiri Hills and the Southern Pennar". The reason for writing this book, he explains is to "rescue history before it is lost in obscurity". Hence, he used the hitherto, untapped sources in archaeology and epigraphy to write brief accounts of the political histories of the dynasties of the Deccan that ruled from the post-Satavahana times till the reign of Pulakesi II. Thus, one can note that he did not even attempt to give a full dynastic account of the Chajukyas of Badami. Further, his book remains largely a description of political events of the region without any major shift in the foci of historical analysis.³⁴

Several years later, there emerged another important work on the Deccan in the form of Yazdani's edited work entitled, ***Early History of the Deccan (1982)***.³⁵ In this book 'Deccan' was defined by the scholar keeping in view, its relatively specific and political boundaries that coincided with the erstwhile Nizam's dominions of Hyderabad State comprising major parts of the present-day States of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Thus, in this description historical Deccan came to be defined as "a land stretching from the Sahyadri •parvat and Mahendragiri ranges and the Mahanadi and the Godavari rivers in the South. Towards the West and East of the Deccan comprised the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal" respectively. However, being an edited work with contributions

of several well-known scholars, the individual perceptions on the historical identity of the Deccan often varied, with the scholars taking into cognizance the account the political boundaries of the various dynasties that ruled over the Deccan, as an important criteria to define the region. In this respect, therefore, the Chajukyan dynasties that ruled the Andhra-Karnataka region were also focussed. Being an edited work, there are several contributions of well-known scholars. In this book, the Chapters on the Badami Chalukyas, the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi and the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani were contributed by scholars like K. A. N. Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya. However, in this endeavor, the Aryan presence had been perceived as an important catalyst, which according to the scholars of this volume had resulted in a cultural change. Thus in this work there is no attempt to understand the role of local elements in socio-cultural transformations. Though genealogies of kings were used, these were discussed mainly to comprehend the political and military history of the dynasties. As a result, there is little analytical study to comprehend the perceptions of the kings of the various Chajukyan families about their past revealed from their genealogies, which according to us is significant to understand the genealogical relationships between the various Chajukyan families, as this is crucial to establish an identity, as they move away from their parent branch.

On the other hand, we have scholars like Nilakanta Sastry, who while writing on South Indian history, considered the history of all regions south of the Vindhyas to be under its sphere and therefore, in these writings one may find Deccan as imprecisely considered a part of South India. He therefore, sees Deccan as one of those oldest inhabited regions of the world, which with its pre-historic archaeology and contacts with the neighboring lands, so far as they are traceable, constitute an important chapter in the history of world civilization.³⁶ However, it may be pointed out that though he wrote much after Bhandarkar's seminal work, but he too continued with the earlier stereotype of emphasizing the role of Aryan influence in colonizing and civilizing the South and the Deccan. Further his work on South Indian history though accommodated Deccan dynasties, however, focused more on the dynasties that ruled extreme South and thus remained

largely Tamil-centric. Undoubtedly, these definitions on the Deccan are determined either from the point of view of source material, or for ideological reasons of providing a vantage point to study the region as a whole. It has been observed by us that in the process, for the northern parts of South India, namely, the Deccan region, it is often ignored that it had its own historical personality which had undergone transformations in various periods of historical time.³⁷

From the survey on some of these works on the region of study, it is apparent to us that hitherto the historical transformations in the Deccan have been encapsulated primarily in terms of political history. Further, one also discovers that these have been partially treated as a segment of either, the history of India as a whole or, that of South India in particular. Thus, in our opinion, not only are rigid boundaries of historical definitions have been imposed on the region but its 'centrality' in these histories also came to be understood primarily in terms of the rise to political prominence of dynasties that ruled in these parts. Therefore, naturally we find importance being given to the Satavahanas as the first major dynasty followed by such early medieval dynasties as the Chajukyas of Badami, Rashtrakutas, Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi etc., as they were discerned to be nearest to have reached the 'empire' concept. The historical centrality of the Deccan was thus essentially conceptualized in terms of political monumentality.³⁸ Another important aspect noticeable in majority of the historical writings of this school was that the descriptions on the social, economic and cultural history have been simply added as important fringes to political and dynastic histories for understanding the totality of the historical past. Further, they also declined to look at the past as it was from those objects in use and those people in action, and what the people in the past believed, thought and said about the events and ideas current in those times. In their fascination to write such dynastic histories, they have invariably followed the model of the positivist method that was popular at that time and therefore, the aim of most of these historians was to clear the ground for having systematic political histories for the region in clear outline.

Lack of proper representation of the Deccan in these early interpretations on South India and the arbitrary administrative policies of the British Government ignited a feeling of regionalism among various States of the Deccan, during the early part of the 20th century. Thus for instance, the British Government's proposal in 1905 to merge the Telugu speaking Ganjam and Visakhapatnam areas with the proposed Oriya territory and separate the Kannada speaking territory from the then Bombay, Hyderabad and Madras provinces provoked the Andhra-Karnataka sentiments. As a result an attempt has been made by the elite in these two regions to resuscitate their identity by extricating histories of various local ruling families, in their respective regions.³⁹ Hence, for this period, we come across regional histories written by scholars within the framework of linguistic regions like Andhra and Karnataka. However, it may be pointed at the outset that these works were written not necessarily within the present linguistic boundaries of these States, as they were demarcated only after Independence. Some of the prominent writings that we have for this period are those of Chilukuri Virabhadra Rao, George M. Moraes and B. A. Saletore among others.

Chilukuri Virabhadra Rao's, ***Andhrula Charitramu (1912)***⁴⁰ in Telugu was the first comprehensive history on the Andhras. He used Mackenzie Manuscripts, Local Records and inscriptions for reconstructing the history and culture of the Andhra dynasties. He was the first historian among the Andhras to have realized the importance of writing the living history of the people as opposed to the mere accumulation of facts and dates. According to him, 'biographies of kings and nobles are no more than barest framework of history'. He therefore, emphasizes to focus on aspects like institutional progress and development of administration through the ages with people's achievement in time and space, as an evolutionary process to fill the skeleton of dynastic chronology. He used genealogies to understand the chronological and dynastic history of the ruling families in Andhra. A discussion on the caste of various ruling families of Andhra also finds place, as caste had become one of the major issues in writing social history during the early decades of the 20th century. In this context, he dared to describe the Kakatiyas as *Sudras*. Despite his strong inclinations towards writing a social history, Chilukuri could not extricate himself from the web of the positivistic method and therefore,

the narration of social aspects were provided within the framework of the political and dynastic history of the kings.

Chilukuri's work created great commotion among the Andhra elites. He was severely criticized for his audacity to describe the Kakatiyas as *Sudras* and the *Ksatriyas* or *Rachavaru* as belonging to a separate caste originated from the *baniza*, *khamma*, *velama* and *Reddi* castes.⁴¹ In contradiction to his views, Buddharaju Varahalaraju wrote the '*Sri Andhra Ksatriya Vamsa Ratnakaram*' in which he stated that the Andhra *Ksatriyas* were the descendants of Northern *ksatriyas* who were the original migrants to Andhra. It also states that the *Satavahanas*, the *Chojas*, the *Chajukyas*, the *Kotas*, the *Kakatiyas* and *Parichchedins* are *ksatriyas*.⁴² In 1935, Duvvuri Jagannada Sarma edited and published a small book-let entitled the '*Vasistha Gotra Kshatreeyulu*', written by *Mahamandaleswara* Rachiraju. Duvvuri also wrote *Sri Pusapati Vamsanucharitam*.⁴³ This was followed by a series of works written on the important families of Andhra *ksatriyas*. In this regard, we have *Reddikula Nirnaya Chandrika* by Seshagiri Ramana Kavulu, *Reddi Sanchika*, *Reddy Rani* (Magazines) edited by Vaddadi Appa Rao, Kasi Bhattla Brahmayya Sastry's *Andhra Kshatriyulu* and so on. The latter was a replication to the feelings among the *Sudras* that the Brahmins were the main cause for their low economic, academic and social status.⁴⁴

Thus, in these works one finds that there is a conscious attempt to resurrect caste-based histories by retrieving the memories of their glorious past from the epics, *Puranas* and inscriptions of the ancient ruling families of the region. Urgency for such claims was felt when their identity was questioned. Hence, in an urge to prove their superior social identity and economic status in the society, these scholars chose to write 'history' of castes, based on traditional narratives that explicated the migration of the *ksatriyas* of the north to Andhra. Besides they also asserted *ksatriya* status of the *Satavahanas*, the *Chajukyas*, the *Kakatiyas* and all other ruling families of ancient Andhra. There was a further increase in

writing caste-based histories when powerful caste movements were led in different parts of the region.

In Karnataka too caste and family based histories appeared around this time. In this regard, we have George M. Moraes's ***Kadamba Kula- A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*** (1931), a voluminous book that dealt in detail with the history of the various Kadamba lineages that were proliferated in different parts of the Karnataka-Maharashtra regions. This may be considered as the first work in the modern times, which has been written with 'kula' (family) as a theme. Hence, one finds in this work a detailed study of genealogies of various ruling chiefs of the Kadamba families, but these were done to understand the political history of the families than to comprehend the social implication of genealogies. Further, Moraes attempt in this work appears merely to fill up the vacuum created in the political history of the Karnataka by presenting a comprehensive and complete history of the region. Hence, one finds that the administrative and social aspects under the Kadambas were dealt only in the penultimate Chapter of the book. Thus, like any other historical writings in modern period, this work too could not escape from the influence of positivist methodology in its treatment of the subject.

In a similar vein, B. A. Saletore attempts to write on the minor ruling families in Karnataka such as the Tuluvas, the Alupas, etc., based on inscriptional and literary sources as opposed to the study of major dynasties such as the Chalukyas of Badami, the Rashtrakutas, etc. In his ***Ancient Karnataka***, written around 1936, Saletore makes a valuable suggestion to consider mythical genealogies as part of the popular beliefs of indigenous people and hence appealed to the historians not to dismiss them as "fascinating fabrications of fertile Brahman brains".⁴⁵ His book thus, presents an interesting narrative of the mythical genealogies of local ruling families, which he corroborates with the literary sources like the epics and the *Puranas* to understand the local people's perceptions of their past. In this regard, he takes an example of the story of Parasurama and his association with the region to show how this legend becomes an important aspect of the mythical past of most of the ruling families that ruled

over Karnataka region.⁴⁷ Though the work deviates from the contemporary methods of history writing, particularly, in its treatment of the subject-matter, however, the genealogies were not fully exploited to understand the different notions of time that were intrinsically embedded in these sources. Further, apart from describing the corroborative evidences of the popular myths of the region, it fails to look at the impact of 'history' in establishing the social identity of ruling families in specific time and space. This leaves us enough scope to look at these aspects in detail.

Thus, from these works, one can deduce that the process of history writing during the early 20th century was confronted with a complex situation between choosing the indigenous notions of writing history based on memory and tradition with those of the modern methods that emphasized on looking at hard core sources to write political history in a linear fashion. In this process, therefore, the historians were found opening up a space for a certain negotiation between the western method of 'history writing' and vernacular, popular memory that found grounded in a strong sense of the past based on genealogies of individual families.

However, the impact of nationalism and regionalism was so tremendous that the historians writing during this time unconsciously succumbed to the western method of writing history to glorify the 'history' of their respective regions. In order to do so, they borrowed the concepts like 'Golden Ages' from the Imperialist and Nationalist writers and applied them to the regional histories.⁴⁸ Consequently, we find the publication of several monographs and articles in journals on various individual dynasties such as the Satavahanas, the Chajukyas of Badami, the Eastern Chajukyas and so on. These were written within the positivistic methodological framework that emphasized on the chronological and dynastic histories of individual dynasties that ruled the region in different periods of time and space.⁴⁹ This trend continued in the post-Independent era, but now with more vigor. In fact, it is pertinent to state here that this period has set a stage for writing separate genres of history such as the political history, social history, economic history and so on. Consequently, one can notice the co-existence of both political history and social history.

An important shift has occurred in the writing of political history during the post-Independent era. Now a tendency to "dynasticize" the political history by compiling an in-depth history of individual dynasties has been noticed. However, the tools for doing so remained the same as set in pace by the 19th century historians. In the present context, we have discussed the works of those scholars who wrote on the history of the various Chajukyan families. In this respect, we have the works by scholars like N. Venkataramanayya⁵⁰, B. V. Krishna Rao⁵¹, N. Ramesan⁵², Krishna Murari⁵³, D. P. Dikshit⁵⁴, K. V. Ramesh⁵⁵, M. Krishna Kumari⁵⁶, K. Suryanarayana⁵⁷ and Birendra Kumar Singh.⁵⁸ In all these works positivism was still the guiding spirit in writing history. Hence, we find these scholars focusing on the political and dynastic history of the Chalukyas, by adhering to the routine aspects such as the origin, caste, home, chronology, genealogy, wars, and other such aspects that were reproduced in all these works in a monotonous way.

N. Venkataramanayya's, ***The Eastern Calukyas of Vengi***, (1950) was the earliest work to have been written on the history of the Eastern Chalukyas based on the information available from the inscriptions. This book has dealt largely with aspects such as the origin, chronology, genealogy, caste of this dynasty. Further, major emphasis was made on the political history and military conquests of the Eastern Chajukyan rulers. However, the author tries to create the general impression that the Eastern Chajukyan period is one of general peace and prosperity, which led to the development of vernacular literature, art and architecture. Being the earliest work on the dynastic history the author merely narrates political history of the dynasty, within the scientific method of positivism. Though, he was the first person to identify the three distinct stages of the Eastern Chajukyan *prasastis*, he does not explain the factors leading to the evolution of distinct stages in *prasastis*. He looked at genealogies as sources to construct political histories rather than using them to write social history. The *prasastis* are used to construct the history of wars fought by the rulers. He dismisses the veracity of the mythical genealogies as mere fabrications and does not give any importance to them in writing the history of the family.⁵⁹ Around the same time,

he also wrote ***The Chalukyas of L(V)emulavada (1953)***.⁵⁰ The work is based on the epigraphical and literary sources and like the above work it also deals with the origin, genealogy and chronology of the Vemulavada Chajukyas. The major part of the book was devoted in understanding the socio-political relationship between the Rashtrakutas and the Vemulavada Chalukyas. Almost 13 years later, B. V. Krishna Rao also wrote a more comprehensive account on the history of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. But unlike the former, he gives more details since by this time many inscripational sources have come into light. In this work, the scholar mostly concentrated on the problem of solving chronology of the dynasty. Major part of the discussion of this work was dealt with the chronological succession of ruling elites with emphasis on their military conquests that was done in a narrative form. He also discussed aspects such as the geography of the region, the Eastern Chalukyan attempts to consolidate and expand their power, the growth of the minor Chajukyan families.⁶¹ Around this period, N. Ramesan also wrote on the ***Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi (1975)***,⁶² but this work appears to be a summary of the works of N. Venkataramanayya and B. V. Krishna Rao, without any new contributions.

Simultaneously, around this period appeared a work on ***The Chajukyas of Kalyani (1977)***, written by Krishna Murari's. This book like the above works begins with a customary description about the home of the Chajukyas, their origin, caste, and the various legends associated with their origin. Besides, it enumerates the political history of the Kalyani Chalukyas in a chronological order with an emphasis on the military conquests and marriage alliances. In the second part of the book, the focus shifts to an understanding of the administration and the nature of state. With regard to the social and economic aspects that are added as separate chapters, there was a discussion on the life and position of women, social practices like sati and self-immolation, issues related to agriculture and crops, trade and industry, the role of corporations and so on. Religion, art and architecture were other aspects that were emphasized upon, before concluding the book with the factors leading to the decline of the Kalyani Chalukyan family.⁶³ The

next important work on the Chajukyas is the ***Political History of the Chalukyas of Badami (1980)*** written by D. P. Dikshit. Like his predecessors, Dikshit also used inscriptions and literature to write the political narrative of the Badami Chalukyas. Hence, one finds no significant change in the descriptive pattern, as he too starts with the usual account on the origin, caste, home, legendary and bardic accounts followed by chronological and genealogical details of the kings enumerated along with their military exploits. The other aspects that have been taken up for scrutiny are administration, revenue system, army organization were included as an addendum.⁶⁴ K. V. Ramesh's ***Calukyas of Vatapi (1984)*** however, is an exception from the above works in the sense that unlike the others, Ramesh, though heavily relies on inscriptions, writes only the chronological and dynastic history of the family, without any discussion on the socio- economic and cultural aspects even in compartments.⁶⁵ The research on the Chajukyas of Badami continued into the early 1990's. In this regard, we have a book on the ***Early Chalukyas of Vatapi,***⁶⁶ (1991), written by Birendra Kumar Singh. Though by this time several trends in history writing with socio-economic orientation have emerged, however, one finds the predominance of positivistic methodology in this work, and hence genealogies have been used only to write political narratives. Similarly, even the social and economic aspects were reproduced from the earlier works written on the subject.

At the other level, we have works of M. Krishna Kumari and K. Suryanarayana that dealt with the micro level study of the minor Chalukyan families. Their works reflects the importance of the minor regional powers as the local potentates in exercising influence and power within their limited geographical boundaries. Krishna Kumari regards the rule of the Chajukya-Chojas in Andhradesa as a transition period between the Chalukyas of Vengi and the Kakatiyas of Warangal.⁶⁷ Similarly, K. Suryanarayana acclaims the role of the various minor Chalukyan families. It is postulated by these scholars that the stability of the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom was perpetuated with the great role of the feudatories and minor Chajukyan ruling families in various geographical

localities.⁶⁸ However, these scholars, in their obsession to write a detailed political history of the individual dynasties used genealogies extensively, primarily to understand and solve the chronological and genealogical problems of these various Chajukyan families. Further, they described military conquests **of the king** and his ancestors only to understand political relationships with other dynasties and to demarcate the political boundaries under each dynasty.

As the dominant area of investigation for these historians being political history, they naturally followed the positivist methodological framework. They further, attempted to reconstruct genealogical tables with the primary sources like epigraphy, numismatics and literature. Thus, there was a tendency to "dynasticize" regional history by mainly focusing on the political ascendancy of the various ruling elites that were powerful. In spite of this, these scholars did not completely ignore the socio-economic and cultural aspects, which were included as an addendum in one or two chapters at the end. There was however, no attempt to relate these socio-economic changes with the understanding of the concerns of ruling elites to establish new identities in different spaces. Hence, one finds major lacunae in these works with regard to the use of genealogies as a source to write on social history. In our opinion fabrication of genealogies and the changes that took place in them is important to study because they articulated a historical consciousness that the ruling elite wanted to define its identity in the present context of time and space. Hence, their use in writing the social history is very important.

For the same period when some of the above dynastic histories were being written, we also have historians who focused on the social and economic history as opposed to the political history, thus heralding a methodological shift. In this category we have works of Suravaram Pratapa Reddy⁶⁹, K. Sundaram⁷⁰, A. V. Krishna Murthy,⁷¹ B. N. Sastry,⁷² Jyotsna Kamat,⁷³ N. Krishna Reddy⁷⁴ and others. However, the basic method of historical analysis in these writings still remains 'conventional' in the sense that these scholars constructed the social history with political history as an essential background and aimed to accumulate empirical data on the subject rather than its analysis.

The genesis of social history of the people was in fact, laid in the rise of several caste movements during the 1930's and 1940's, when the socialistic ideas of Marx and its successful implementation in Russia had tremendously inspired the socialist minds in India, too. Though the impact of socialistic ideas were long felt in the Deccan also, however, the writing on social history with 'people' as the focus appeared only after Independence. Consequently, a new trend to look at national and regional histories from the socio-economic perspective had emerged. Social history has been defined by these scholars, as the one that dealt with "man's social, scientific, economic, political, religious and cultural aspects....of human society at large".⁷⁵ This definition thus, intends to focus on the living histories of people at large rather than understand the motivations behind the actions and thoughts of people.

In this regard, beginnings have been made by Suravaram Pratapa Reddy, whose ***Andhrula Sanghika Charitra*** (1949) written in Telugu, is considered as the earliest work on social history. Though, most of the ideas in this book were conceptualized as early as 1928, they got materialized only in 1949 when it was first published. Pratapa Reddy has strongly opposed in his writings, the earlier methods of writing political history, which according to him does not serve any purpose. By making a significant shift from political to social history, he therefore, emphasized on studying the way of life, beliefs systems, the amusements, etc., of the people in the past. For the purpose of writing this history, the author had collected information from the textual sources like literature, travelogues, traditions, local legends, folklore, etc., without making any use of inscriptions. Inscriptions, he argues are mainly to write political history, whereas social history could be handled only with the help of literary sources. Though the chapters are named against the dynastic history, yet the contents of them mainly dealt with different topics like literature, administration, crime and punishments, food, dress, ornaments, trade and commerce, agriculture etc., during each of these periods.⁷⁶

However, by the time the next work on social history appeared, the values of using epigraphic records for writing social history has been realized. Thus, B. N.

Sastry's ***Andhrula Sanghika Charitra*** (1975), was a follow up of Pratap Reddy's work, uses inscriptions besides literary sources to write the social history of Andhras from the Pre-Satavahana times to the Chajukya-Choja phase. However, there is not much deviation from the earlier work in its style and method of descriptions.⁷⁷ Jyotsna Kamat's, ***Social Life in Medieval Karnataka*** (1980), as the title suggests is focused on Karnataka, where the author describes different aspects of social life in Karnataka during the early medieval period. Thus, her main focus appears to describe the types of food and drinks, hairstyles and costumes of the people, vanity fair, leisure, pleasure and the status of women.⁷⁸ Another important work on social history that deals with our period of study is N. Krishna Reddy's ***Social History of Andhra Pradesh (Seventh to Thirteenth Century Based on Inscriptions and Literature)*** (1991).⁷⁹ Though written in more recent times when the method of writing social history has undergone significant changes, the author, however, adopts the above method to study social history. Thus in this book too, one finds the routine descriptive accounts on society, education, agriculture, games and amusements etc., To understand, these the author uses vast corpus of literary sources and hence we do not find reference to genealogies.

At the other level of social history, we have scholars focusing on the socio-economic aspects. In this regard, we have works of K. Sundaram, A. Vaidehi Krishna Murthy and others. Sundaram's work on ***Studies in Economic and Social Conditions of Medieval Andhra (AD 1000- 1600 AD)*** (1969) that dealt with the trading communities in the medieval period, stands above all the earliest works on social history, not because he was able to highlight various economic and social activities of the marginal groups such as the *vaisyas*, *balanjas* and *telikis* (oil -mongers), but primarily because, it makes its distinction by referring to the claims of these groups to seek new identities through concocting mythical origins of their castes. Conditions conducive for such fabrications, according to the author, have been laid during the 11th -12th centuries, when the ruling elites made large-scale donations and conferred honors on them that in turn, resulted in the rise of trading communities to socio- economic importance.⁸⁰ However, the author uses genealogies only to describe how the *vaisya* community defined their past,

but no analytical study was made to understand the changes in genealogies of ruling elites and why such were made. On the other hand A. Vaidehi Krishnamurty's work on ***Social and Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan (from A. D. 1000 to A. D. 1250)*** (1970), defines the significance of the period chosen for study because it saw the end of the independent rule of the Eastern Chajukyas who now became feudatories of the Chojas. According to her, 'this Choja ascendancy contributed a great deal to developments in the social and religious life of the people¹. This, the author considers is 'responsible for the cultural development of the people at a standard higher than the rest of Andhra'.⁸¹ Where as this book does not use a dynastic nomenclature in the title, it nonetheless understands the various aspects on caste system, position of women, occupations of various social groups, education, dress, ornaments, games, sports, religion and temples within the dynastic framework, thus giving an erroneous impression that social conditions were somehow static. However, in all these writings scholars considered the political history of the period as an essential background to their study. Hence, the approach and methodology of some of them was traditional. Though, they have not treated social, economic and religious aspects as separate compartments yet, they have failed to theoretically establish the linkages of these aspects, which played an important role in making specific identities by ruling elites as well as the other social groups during the early medieval Deccan. Thus, in all the above works dealing with both the political history and social history, the importance to write social history was marginalized.

The most common way in which majority of these social history books were written describe society in early medieval India within the mould of the *varnasrama* system as defined in the *Dharmasastra* literature and 'the social order organized on its basis was held to be primary duty of the ruler'.⁸² However, little analytical study was made to understand the terms *varna*, *jati*, *kula* and *gotra* that do occur in inscriptions to define the aspects of social history. Thus the question raised is to what extent a bibliocentric view of society on the basis of *varnasrama* system is sustainable with the help of inscriptional data. It is clear from our brief survey of inscriptions that the maximum mention is of the *brahmana varna* and

gotras of the royal families, but no mention of their *vanpa*. What emerge from this is that the *varna* system in the normative sense cannot be culled from the inscriptional sources.

In this regard, it would be pertinent to define our understanding of Social history, because the majority writings on South Indian Social History discussed above subscribe to a definition of it, which we would like to reject at the outset. This is the kind of social history that John Breuille calls 'Residual Social History'.⁸³ This is said to be composed of such 'trivialities' as a study of dress and ornaments, wedding, eating habits, leisure and so on. It goes without saying that this kind of history is only of marginal to our interest. Breuille has contrasted this type of social history with 'Societal History'.⁸⁴ In this type, the different dimensions of political, economic and ideological history in order to give a history of 'society as a whole' or a 'social formation' were brought together.⁸⁵ For South India as a whole, and the Deccan in particular, the maximum work done in the area of Social History is under the rubric of the first type. However, the inroads of the second type of writing social history of the Deccan has been very limited, despite the fact that for India as a whole this approach has generated a serious debate classifying the nature of the particular social formations for early medieval times.⁸⁶ In our view 'Social history is not a particular kind of history, rather its is a dimension which should be present in every kind of history'.⁸⁷ It is in this context, that the study of genealogies is important because in our view they relate to the social history, and are crucial for establishing social identity. Hence, we attempt to re-look at them afresh to understand how the kings in ancient times perceived their past through constructing genealogies.

As an alternative to the imperialist, orientalist, nationalist and much of the regional history based on these methodological paradigms, there emerged in the post-independent, a new trend in the form of Marxist influenced historical writings. Influenced in some cases by vague socialist thinking and in other by the ideas of the materialist interpretation of history, and by giving a new 'socio-economic orientation' to the study of Indian history, the prominent writings of D. D. Kosambi, R. S. Sharma, B. N. S. Yadava and others began to emerge.

Significantly, the historical interpretations of the Marxists differed from those of the traditional writings for they tried to move away from those stereotype constructs of political and dynastic history from positivist method to provided new interpretation to history writing from the point of view of dialectical materialism.⁸⁸ Therefore, in most of their writings, we find the focal theme of history to be based on the development in the means and relations of production. Though in this respect, they derived most of their inspiration from Marxist theory, however, they did not accept the AMP model of Marx and exploded his myth of "Unchangeableness" of Indian State and society, by highlighting heterogeneity, change and resistance. As an alternative to the AMP model, some of the aforementioned scholars evolved the concept of Indian Feudalism that in fact came to be used in characterizing the early medieval period. The "Indian Feudalism Model" emphasized on the economic changes that took place, during the early centuries of the Christian era. These changes, according to them, had corroded the strong edifice of central bureaucracy through the processes of decentralization and fragmentation of political power. Thus, these scholars have developed the idea of interrelationship of variety of social and economic forces and its subsequent effect on historical events. This has been stressed in the work of Kosambi, where he tried to analyze the ancient Indian history on the basis of means of production, which he considers, was the key to historical events. For him, the dynastic history has no meaning, since the information based on it is uncertain in nature. On the other hand, he explicates the importance of investigating and re-interpreting the source material from the socio-economic point of view of establishing causal relationships as this provides, according to him with historical totality.⁸⁹ Thus, he repeatedly underlined the urgency of studying living traditions that need to go beyond written records, which constituted staple source-material of both colonial and nationalist historians. However, by suggesting this method, Kosambi was not invoking the pre-colonial indigenous modes of historical thinking and history writing but was only drawing upon the methodologies and concerns of social science disciplines with which he had familiarized himself.⁹⁰

Influenced by Kosambi's analysis of ancient Indian history, R. S. Sharma and B. N. S. Yadava have attempted to explain the development of feudalism in

terms of major economic changes that occurred during the early historical period. For instance, R. S. Sharma attributed external factors to the emergence of feudalism, such as the decline in inter-regional and international trade and commerce, paucity in metallic currency and the subsequent decline in urban centres that necessitated the ruling elite during this period to evolve a new mechanism of exploitation for surplus generation and tax-collection. It is in this context that the emergence of large-scale donations of land to *brahmanas* and religious institutions and later to the government officials can be explained, according to him. This process has been explained by Sharma, as the prelude to the development of feudalism in terms of decentralization and fragmentation of political power. This ultimately led to the rise of new ruling elites during the early medieval period.⁹¹ On the other hand B. N. S. Yadava had explained the emergence of feudalism through emphasizing on the breakdown of the *Chaturvarna* system, as was explicitly stated in the Kali age texts. For him, the term *Samanta*, which is identified with 'vassal' or 'tributary chief', became the key word of Indian feudalism. He sees the emergence of the *samantas* to political prominence mainly through their economic and military power.⁹²

However, the Indian Marxist historians did recognize regional variations in the development of feudalism in different parts of the country. In this context, we have studies of scholars like R. N. Nandi and K. Satyanarayana who have attempted to study the development of feudalism in different regions of South India. Nandi applied the major props of Sharma's theory, to study the process of the development of feudalism in the Karnataka region. He argues that the decentralization of political power at the central level led to the emergence of local landed intermediaries who subsequently came to wield political power. To stabilize their power, these new ruling elite in turn had evolved various mechanisms, which are seen as developmental processes for the resurgence of urban economy.⁹³ On the other hand, K. Satyanarayana, adopting Kosambi's method and approach regarded the history of the Andhras as a process of change and progression in terms of changes perceived in social production. The Eastern Chajukyan rule in Andhra is seen as a crucial period "since the traces of feudalism were taking

permanent shape during this period according to him. Feudalism, during this period was explained by this scholar in terms of the large-scale donations made to *brshmana* and secular officials, which saw the emergence of a new class of land owners in the villages. They acted as intermediaries between the state and the peasantry.⁹⁴ Thus, it is evident from the Marxists interpretations on Indian history and those on the region that these scholars basically perused the economic aspects to describe social change as gleaned from the inscriptional and literary sources. In this process, they discussed the various factors for the growth of feudalism and emphasized on the breakdown of the centralized state structures that led to the emergence of new ruling elites. Further, with regard to periodization, they began to accept the socio-economic changes as criteria for marking periods, thus rejecting the earlier chronological labels set up by the conventional historiography to demarcate periodization in Indian history. The early medieval period was seen in the context of the development of feudalistic tendencies from 600 AD onwards, which is said to have given an impetus for the emergence of new ruling elites at the regional level. However, with their main focus on land grant economy they identified change in class/ caste relationships of the new ruling elites. Though genealogies were not extensively used in these works, nonetheless, their analysis on the broader economic and social aspects as could be gleaned from inscriptions were effectively used to characterize the social formation of the times. Hence, these studies are important for us, as they provide an essential background for the present study to analyze the inter-relationship between various social and economic forces and its subsequent effect on the nature of genealogies that in fact manifested several changes and continuities in different spatial and temporal contexts.

As opposed to all these writings discussed above, we have scholars writing on social history following an inter-disciplinary approach. One basic preoccupation of the social historians of this trend was to explore into the precise nature of social relationships in the structure of early Indian society thus, underpinning the importance of sociological studies in history writing. Attempts have been made by some of these scholars, to re-examine the texts in the light of our contemporary understandings of theoretical model of the caste system, *varna*. Further, in these

writings an emphasis has been made to understand the role and nature of particular social groups and the interrelationships of these groups in a particular period. In this respect, the genealogies of various ruling families of ancient India came to be effectively used as source material by these scholars, to explain and understand the social relations and structures. This has been emphatically brought out in the writings of Romila Thapar on her studies on ancient history of North India. The socio-economic importance of maintaining genealogies has been underlined by Thapar, when she pertinently makes her point by saying that "the maintenance of genealogies in perpetuating human relations becomes significant especially, in tribal and lineage based societies, when they are moving towards state formation".⁹⁵ In our opinion, this is also true of small kingdoms becoming larger states and empires. Further, from her study on genealogies as found in the Puranic sources Thapar analyzes the importance of maintaining genealogies for the regulation of marriage alliances between various kin groups, for enhancing and legitimizing the socio-political status of social groups. From the spatial context, she tries to explain their importance, particularly when social groups migrate and disseminate their lineages in different geographical areas. Most crucially, genealogies are also important as claims to represent past through reckoning of time, and therefore she suggests to consider them as perspectives "on the past" rather than looking at them as "reflections of the actual past". Thus, the ideological aspect of genealogies for legitimization of the power of the new ruling elites has been emphasized.⁹⁶ However, most of her conclusions are confined to the study of genealogies of the ruling elites from North India. Moreover, she relied largely on literary sources rather than inscriptions in constructing the social history based on the contents of genealogies in ancient India. Nonetheless, her study is useful for us as it provides some valuable insights that shall be used by us as criteria to define genealogies as they occur in our sources.

In South India, deriving insights from Thapar's study, a similar attempt was made Kesavan Veluthat.⁹⁷ Looking closely at the inscriptions of the of the South Indian dynasties of the Pandya, Pallava and Chola kings, Veluthat scrutinized the mythical and historical genealogies of these families and understood the changes

in them as mechanisms for legitimizing the political power of the kings. Since all these studies are concentrated either in north India or the extreme south, not much research has been made so far to understand the nature of genealogies given in inscriptions of the ruling elites of the Deccan, for the early medieval period.

At the other level, we have the works of scholars like Hermann Kulke, B. D. Chattopadhyaya and Nandini Sinha. Following an inter-disciplinary approach and method in their writings, these scholars have reverted back to the study of political history. However, this was done not by following traditional approach, but by focusing primarily on the various processes of change that effected state formation in early medieval Orissa and Rajasthan. In this view, state has been no longer envisaged as a centralized or decentralized structure, but was seen as an integrative polity. The various events such as political conquests, donating land grants, networking marriage alliances, fabricating lengthy mythical genealogies, patronizing and acculturating various religious symbols and tribal cults, have all been considered by these scholars, as important integrative mechanisms of political, economic, social and ideological that have been adopted by the ruling elites during the early medieval period. These have been effectively discussed in the context of Orissa, Rajasthan and Mewar. In the context of the early medieval Orissa, Hermann Kulke, looks at all these processes as aides in consolidating the power of the ruling elites and the formation of states in Orissa.⁹⁸ Similarly, B. D. Chattopadhyaya studied the process of state formation with reference to the emergence of various Rajput clans to political prominence in the present-day State of Rajasthan. He observed that various political, economic, socio- ideological processes of the ruling elite, which are explained in terms of the fortification of rural settlements, assignment of land grants, maintaining horizontal marriage networks and finally legitimization of their rule by establishing genealogical linkages with the *ksatriya* line of the mythical past have helped the ruling elite in Rajasthan to consolidate their power in the early medieval period." All these mechanisms have been understood by the scholar as important through which new state structures emerged and consolidated their power in the early medieval

period.¹⁰⁰ These major processes of integrative polity were also found operational in the context of Mewar as it was brought out in the research of Nandini Sinha.¹⁰¹

Thus, these scholars who adopted a new trend in history writing based on new social history approach have perceived political changes through the process of centralization and integration rather than fragmentation and decentralization as postulated by the Marxists scholars. Significantly, in both writings of Marxist historians and the historians belonging to the non-aligned school we may notice that the early medieval period has been envisaged as one of transition, between the early historic and the medieval period.¹⁰² It is perceived that the political, economic and social changes during this period underwent a process of metamorphosis, which ultimately led to the formation of new ruling elites along with the emergence of new States in almost all parts of the country. These processes of change saw the emergence of large number of ruling elites such as the various Rajput clans in northern India, the Pallavas, the Cholas in Tamilnadu, the various families of the Chajkyas in the Deccan, the Palas and Senas in Bengal and many other ruling elites. It has been further noticed that there was a constant attempt by the ruling elites to assume new *varna* identity. In the context of Rajasthan and Mewar, Chattopadhyaya¹⁰³ and Nandini Sinha¹⁰⁴ have shown how the *brahma-ksatra* identity of ruling elites has become a "transitional" category to later assume pure ksatriya-hood. Similar cases were noted in the context of Pallavas adopting *brahma-kssatra* identity¹⁰⁵ and other north India rulers claiming the status of the *Rajputras*, which is explained as a process of Rajputization.¹⁰⁶ This process it has been regarded by the scholars helped the ruling elites, who emerged cutting across *varna* identity, to legitimize their role as rulers in the newly emerging regional kings that were being established all over the country. But apart from legitimization and political validation of power, we argue that such claims for superior *varna* status are rooted in the notion of an idealized "past"¹⁰⁷ that being always selective provided an identity to the rulers in the present.

Another type of historical writing that has in most recent times provided a conceptual a shift in the way historian's should address the question of time embedded in indigenous sources and traditions of narrative have been done by scholars like Hermann Kulke, Daud Ali and the authors of *Textures of Time*, namely, Velcheru Narayana Rao, Sanjay Subrahmanyam and David Shulman. They have raised the question of method in history writing afresh so that for the pre-colonial Indian context the source material available could be interrogated in different ways. Therefore, one can find in these writings, scholars juxtaposing the modern notions of history writing with the pre-modern ones. The motivating factor for these studies has been to question the view that Indians lacked a consciousness of how to write about their past as opposed to a mature sense of history writing in China and the West. In this context, several fundamental questions have been raised in the studies Herman Kulke, Daud Ali and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, particularly, in looking at the issues of how the past has been represented in pre-modern societies. The basic focus has been on finding out how historical consciousness was expressed in India before the British initiated the writing of history on the sub-continent in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. These endeavors refute the earlier notion that Indians lacked a sense of their past and that "history" as an academic discipline itself had its origins in modernity. These scholars have systematically identified a variety of sources to put forth how they were memorized, articulated and re-presented in different contexts of time and space. Their studies, interestingly point to the existence of indigenous methods of history writing in the pre-colonial India that did not follow any particular model as was defined by the West but that it had evolved its own methods of writing history in different periods, thus signifying the existence of multiple forms of historical traditions in pre- modern times. For instance, Hermann Kulke's study on the writing of regional history in Orissa has interestingly revealed the existence of a continuous process of history writing in Orissa that may have developed, in his opinion, in three distinct chronological periods. This process of writing history, he observes, had developed with the purpose of safeguarding or even securing landed property of a temple. Sometimes the interests of a new dynasty seeking legitimation of royal authority may have also played a decisive role in the evolution of historiographical tradition in Orissa.¹⁰⁸ Thus, Kulke has

tried to connect the process of history writing to the legitimization of royal authority and to the process of state formation.

Daud Ali proposes a completely new dialogical approach in reading the inscriptions. He suggests viewing these as representational practices that have an active relationship with the world. The pertinent question raised by him in this regard, is the issue of how the eulogies in *prasastis* related themselves to the Puranic discourses by using it as a model. He further advises to look at the genealogical lists in the *Prasastis*, as conscious means of organizing the polities and their histories along the lines of the larger universal histories that are available in the *Puranas*.¹⁰⁹ Unlike other scholars, rather than calling the inscriptional narratives as either non-historic or as 'myth' and 'legend', we agree with Daud Ali that the *prasastis* were influenced by all the literary genres of the time like the *Puranas* and *Kavyas* but were not identical with them. These influences tell us about a fundamentally different notion of how the past was perceived by the ruling elites, one, which cannot be considered as identical to modern way of writing about the past. In the words of Daud Ali therefore, "these should be read as texts that formed part of an integrated discursive practice within the larger ideological framework of the society that produced them". Thus, from the above discussion it is clearly evident that neither the *prasasti* nor the narratives that influenced them should be studied as autonomous subjects. His approach has shown us a valuable method to re-look at the rich genealogical narratives that formed an important component of *prasastis*, but were in fact harbinger of social history. Their evolution over a period of time and the links with other historical traditions on the sub-continent have to be looked at in a totality so that a history beyond merely the political can be recovered from them.

The recently published ***Textures of Time (2001)*** by the combined efforts of Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman and Sanjay Subrahmanyam is yet another venture that has attempted to explore the various historiographical traditions that have existed in different regional settings of South India during the late eighteenth century. To argue their point, these scholars have selected the

literary narratives of the post-Vijayanagara-Nayaka periods that were hitherto, being aborted as a-historical to and therefore, not acceptable to write history of the period. Though for a period outside the scope defined for the present study, their study has brought into focus, how a rich corpus of literature adhering to different genres can effectively be used to write history in modes that were webbed into complex textures of time that posit decidedly different traditions of history writing in the pre-modern times. The authors have noted that some of these narratives were usually presented in bardic epic mode that exemplified the importance of the tradition of memory which necessarily had to be continually remembered, refashioned and systematically re-narrated as a predominant mode of expressing the historical process of change.¹¹⁰ Hence, the authors' suggest that one should look for the presence of historical moment in these narratives as they open up to a trans-temporal temporality that introduces a dimension of repetition and the 'mythic' representation and for display of a strong notion of 'fact' as crucial elements to the narration of events.

Another important work written along the above lines is Cynthia Talbot's, ***Pre-colonial India in Practice- Society, Region and Identity in Medieval Andhra, (2001)***. Here, the author effectively analyzes the historical processes that led to the multiple identity formations during the Kakatiyan period in medieval Andhra through a detailed examination of religious donations that were made to the *brahmanas* and temples. In inscriptions these are referred to through the mention of genealogies, titles, occupations and secondly, by means of the patronage of temples that enhanced the social prestige of various social groups. We agree with her argument that social identities often fluctuated according to individual action and effort. In order to prove her point, she even looks at the records of the post-Kakatiyan period to understand, how the people of this period appropriated the memories of Kakatiyan kings and re-presented them from a new perspective in the light of the changing circumstances of their respective contemporary times.¹¹¹ The study becomes important for our comprehension, primarily because, chronologically this period immediately follows the period of the present study. Secondly, her study has shown us a way to look at genealogies of

ruling elites to understand and analyze how structure and construction of memory changes in different periods of time in order to provided new identity for the concerned group.

Most of the above studies pertain to the medieval and late medieval times but nonetheless, they become motive for us to take up the study of genealogies of ruling families for two reasons. One they raise the fundamental question of how 'time' and 'narrative' were embedded in pre-modern sources and two the way the past was remembered and written about in them also reflects on the process of social and political identity formation of these elites.

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CHAPTER- III

GENEALOGY, TIME AND IDENTITY

In this **Chapter**, we describe and analyze genealogies of the ruling families as noted through their mention in the inscriptional and literary sources of the present study. One has defined 'genealogy' as essentially a historical record that preserved information on the continuity of succession¹, but at the same time that also reflected on building a past within a broader socio-ideological framework. In other words, genealogies can be considered as crucial social documents that were intrinsically related to the memory of the past of an individual, group or a community.² Implicit in such a definition was the way the notion of time was built into the record. The sequential arrangement and chronological ordering of the genealogical information purports one sense of time through which a linkage between the past time and present time was established. However, intertwined with this were narrative structures reflecting non-linear notions of time as well. Hence, in this Chapter, we have initiated our analysis with understanding different methods of reckoning time as gleaned from the genealogical narratives of the various Chajukyan families under study. In other words, we have structured our discussion around the different modes of conceiving temporality as embedded in different types of genealogies and the way it was articulated in practice to mark and calculate the passage of time. As this information is dependent on the sources that belonged primarily to the ruling elite, it naturally examines the way time was conceived and reckoned among these dominant socio-political groups to reflect on their particular pasts. As heads of Kingdoms and States they found it necessary to shape the historical past so as to also control it; an idea all too familiar today as well, except that during early medieval times, the notion of history itself was rooted in notably different sensibilities.

It may be noted at the outset that the conception of time met with in the sources under study is not unitary or homogeneous. Several levels and changes are perceptible in this regard, which shall be discussed and highlighted by us

from an in depth study of the data on hand. In fact, it is found that the various units and events by which temporal duration was oriented was also invariably linked with the construction of an identity base for an individual, a group or a community. This further enhanced the importance of maintaining genealogies as it emphasized on what people who composed them believed to be their social history³ in the pre-modern times. Hence, a retrospective dimension of the real or fabricated genealogies of the ruling elite, in our view becomes a particularly important study, to comprehend identity formation of the ruling elite. Therefore, a complementary aspect of analysis in this Chapter is to try and understand how this was achieved by the ruling elites under consideration within a specific spatial and chronological context. Such a study is significant for the early medieval context, which as a period of transition from the ancient to the medieval provides the right setting for analyzing how the Chalukyan families that ruled over the different parts of the Deccan had conceptualized their past in relation to their present as also in relation to their location in particular regions and its linkages with a pan-Indian ethos.

The general conception of time in early or ancient India has earlier been understood by scholars as being largely cyclic. In other words, these ideas reflected on the pre-eminence given to repetitiveness and non-progression of time in certain types of early Indian sources and how they must, therefore, be considered as non-purposeful to understand the notion of history in such a society.⁴ In this view, notions of linear time are important to record history as they occupy a place of certitude and facilitate understanding the movement of time in a progressive direction. To articulate a modern sense of history in chronological order, this is a crucial aspect to underscore. Hence, in this argument, time in non-western societies, like India's, came to be gauged through modern parameters that emerged with applying western standards of reckoning time through narrating the events in a linearity. This imposition failed to understand the parallel existence of other forms of time, along with the linear reckoning of the past in societies of the non-western worlds where usually both linear and cyclic notions of time co-existed.

Researches on different notions of time reckoning and their co-existence in the pluralistic traditions of India are few. A prominent exception has been

Romila Thapar's intensive study on notions of time as it had existed in the ancient Puranic traditions as they evolved over different periods in early north India. Thapar's study revealed a co-existence of various forms of time reckoning in the ancient Indian tradition. This was, she argued, first and foremost expressed in explaining the cosmological or mythical time, which is otherwise also called sacred time. This is then differentiated from ritual or seasonal time, followed by generational or dynastic time that is usually followed by linear and dated time. While the first two types were related to the cyclic notion of time the latter two were clearly embedded in the linear notion of time. These different notions of time reckoning noticed in the Puranic tradition were also noticed especially in the *prasasti* portions of inscriptions. Incorporation of genealogical narratives, which formed an important component of the *itihasa* tradition of ancient India, into first the Puranic tradition⁶ and then in inscriptions⁷ happened more or less around the same time, namely, the 4th century AD. However, the wide presence of genealogies in inscriptions was noticed only from the early medieval period ML, from the 6th century AD onwards. These formed an integral part of the *prasasti* that constituted an important component of the preamble⁹ part of the inscription. *Prasastis* and therefore, genealogies also became an essential feature of the biographies or the *Carita*¹⁰ literature that emerged as an important genre of literary tradition in the early medieval period effectively from the 7th century AD onwards.

One can note the existence of three kinds of genealogies in the *prasasti* portion of the inscriptions and the literary sources used for the present study. They can be categorized as the mythical genealogies, semi-historical genealogies and historical genealogies. We have defined the mythical genealogy as the fabrication of origin myths that mention the lineage (*gotra*), matronymic and family (*kula*). By semi-historical genealogies we mean that a part of this genealogy is rooted in a legendary past, but a part of that can also be traced back historically as noted in the list of Kali Age dynasties. The legendary past of the semi-historic genealogies refer to the genealogies of the *Candravamsa* or *Suryavamsa* families that are embedded in what can be called the remembered tradition belonging to a legendary antiquity with which the ruling families of the early medieval period established their linkages. Finally,

we understand the historical genealogies as those dealing with the narration of the king who issued the record and his descriptions of his ancestors going back to several generations of rulers, but belonging to the more clearly discernable immediate past of the king whose *prasasti* was being written.

Implicit in these different types of genealogical narratives are the varied notions of time, as found originally articulated in the Puranic tradition. These can be described for the purpose of the present discussion as mythical or cyclic time, semi-historical or cyclic and linear time, historical or linear time and contemporary dated time, which is also linear. We have defined 'mythical time' as metaphysical time that is rooted in the origin myths explaining the beginning of genealogies or, more appropriately, the beginning of their recording based on generations of their oral retention. In other words, we have understood 'mythical time' as that time, when a certain ancestry was located in a remote past by making references to Gods, persons or events that were associated with the mythical or legendary elements. These were usually built into notions of cyclic time. 'Semi-historical time' is both cyclic and linear as in the Puranic traditions of the Kali Age lists of kings, which are linear but always prefixed with cyclic and mythical notions of time. The next category of time we have is the 'historical time'¹. Romila Thapar, however, refers to this time as 'generational' or 'biological' time since it involved the measurement of time from one generation to another and thus established biological linkages between members of a given family.¹¹ We choose to call it 'historical time', because it referred to the immediate historical past of the king where the genealogies of the king's predecessors were enumerated in sequential order. In historical time, therefore, time was reckoned in linear terms. The other category of time noticed in the sources of the present study is what we refer to as 'contemporary or dated time'. Contemporary time was reckoned through a measure real or actual time, as it was recorded in terms of an era and /or regnal year or *sarpvatsara* notifying explicitly for us when the particular king ruled. This recorded the actual time at which an individual king set out to describe himself through a detailed *prasasti* or eulogy. Recording of this time came to be considered important particularly, in inscriptions because these, in their very nature, became official documents or legal charters where precision in dating was crucial.¹² Contemporary time, in most earlier studies has been

pre-eminently discussed because it gives a certain linearity and fixity to the genealogical narratives and thus enhances its authenticity and reliability as a source for the study of political history. In the following pages, we emphasize that these different categories of time as embedded in equally varied genealogical narratives, have to be analyzed to understand that they also indicate perspectives of the past that in many ways provide multiple parameters to recover a social history of the ruling elites in terms of their broad social base over territories conquered by them.

For an effective analysis of our data, we have charted out the information collected from the *prasasti* portion of the inscriptions in two different charts *viz.* **Chart IA** and **Chart IB** appended. These have been organized under different column headings such as the name of the inscription/ king and dynasty, date, nature of genealogy and type of genealogy, information that is based on details given in the reference column. The column on date is further divided into two sub-columns indicating era and the regnal year. Similarly, the column on nature of genealogy is also divided into three sub-columns under specific headings of mythical genealogy, semi-historical genealogy and historical genealogy. The sub-column of mythical genealogy is further divided into three micro-columns showing *gotra*, matronymic and *kula*. Similarly, the sub-column on historical genealogy is also divided into two micro-columns indicating number of generations mentioned and whether linkage with the parent branch was indicated in the *prasasti*. This encapsulation of data provides at a glance a picture of the often repetitive and formulaic information given in the *prasasti*.

II

We initiate the study with an analysis of the mythical genealogies and how these have been described in the sources of the present study. This is followed by an examination of the semi-historical genealogy that was inserted sometimes as a prefix and sometimes as a suffix to the mythical genealogy. Finally, we have examined the contents of the historical genealogy as documented by the official genealogist of the king. This then involves looking closely at the descriptions of the king's lineage, family and dynasty and their origins as they are described in different types of genealogies delineated for this study.

To begin with, mythical genealogies in the inscriptions of the Chajukyan families primarily begin with the mention of the *gotra* that was referred to as the *Manavya gotra*. This is followed by the mention of the matronymic, namely, *Haritiputra* or sons of Hariti, which the Chajukyias associated themselves with. This epithet is invariably mentioned in combination with the *gotra*. Finally, the *kula* or family to which the Chalukyias claim to have belonged is mentioned. In this regard, we come across two expressions, namely, *Chajukya kula* and *Satyasraya kula*. We therefore, take a closer look at these categories of mythical genealogies on the basis of the order in which they are described in the inscriptions. An analysis of these different categories of information found in the mythical genealogies and the changes and continuities noticed in using them has enabled us to comprehend effectively their importance in the formation of the Chajukyan identity and how they were used to legitimize the authority of the kings who issued these *prasastis*.

The institution of *gotra* is very ancient and its reference is amply found in the *Sutras*, *Puranas* and legal digests.¹³ *Gotra*, literally meaning a stockade for cows, was actually used to identify descent groups among the high status *varnas*.¹⁴ Initially, it was associated with the *brahmanas* who zealously retained them as a means of establishing their claims to antiquity and purity of ancestry.¹⁵ Thus, the brahmanical *gotras* remained essential to defining *brahmana* identity.¹⁶ From the early medieval period onwards, many non-*brahmana* families too started adopting brahmanical *gotras*. For the non-brahmanical families to adopt the *gotras* named after eponymous sages¹⁷ had become useful primarily because of it gave them a link and continuity with the past¹⁸ and secondly, it helped these families to gain social prestige in the local regions they had come to control. In this regard, the *gotra* had become a useful tool of social mobility.¹⁹ The word *gotra* also came to mean matronymic.²⁰ D. C. Sircar has pointed out that matronymics actually referred to the *gotra* of a woman and were usually suffixed by the term *putra*.²¹ *Kula* or *varnsa* (family) became a nuclear unit of ancient society.^{il} Since the individual and the ancestors were placed in the larger context of a family (*kula*), this became the key indicator that emphasized on looking at the past in terms of social variables

and thus by knowing one by *kula* and *varpsa* was critical in defining identity. The history of *varnsas* came to be provided via the systematization of genealogies,²³ This constituted the category of *Varpsanucarita* that later became a characteristic feature in the *itihasa-purana* tradition of ancient India.²⁴ These different categories, namely, *Manavya gotra*, *Haritiputra* and *Chajukya kula* and *Satyasraya kula* can be described as mythical because their origins are connected with God Brahma who is rooted in timelessness. From the early medieval period, the *gotra*, matronymic and the *kula* or *varpsa* came to be integrated with the genealogies of ruling families as found in the inscriptions and the biographies under study.

In the context of the present study two phases of development and four types of genealogies can be discerned. In Phase 1, we find that in both TYPES I and II the Chajukyan families continuously referred to their association with an eponymous sage called Manavya from whom they adopted their *gotra* or lineage linkage. Besides this, the Chajukyan kings also continuously described themselves as sons of Hariti. This has been noted in the expression "*Haritiputranam*" used in the *prasastis*. In the context of TYPE I, we have noticed about 57 out of 60 examples that described the Chalukyas as belonging to Manavya *gotra* and as sons of Hariti (**Chart IA, 2-10, 13, 15-17, 19-33, 35, 45, 62, 63, 67, 68, 70, 71, 77-86, 95**). These claims of establishing linkage with Manavya and Harita continued even in TYPE II, without any significant change from the earlier TYPE. Thus, it has been noted that in TYPE II there are about 52 out of 57 examples that frequently referred to the Manavya *gotra* and the matronymic *Haritiputra* (**Chart IA, 34, 46-61, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76, 87-94, 96-99, 101, 104-113, 115-117**). This suggests to the unanimous acceptance of Manavya and Harita as the progenitors of the Chajukyas. However, in both these TYPES, apart from merely referring to this twin association, there was no further attempt to explain the origin of these mythical personages. A point of uniformity is that the mythical genealogy in both these two TYPES was prefaced to the historical genealogy.

Another important element of the mythical genealogy is reference to *kula/ vamsa*. In the context of TYPE I, we have noticed that the Chalukyas continuously referred to themselves as belonging to *Chajukya kula* through various terms such as *vamsa* and *anvaya* that came to be synonymously used to refer to the term *kula* in this TYPE. In this regard, one has noticed that in about 31 examples, the term *Chajukya kula* has been used (**Chart IA, 5, 6, 9, 10, 18-33, 35-45, 62, 63, 67, 68, 70, 71, 75, 77-86, 95**). On the other hand, we have 6 instances where the term *Chalukya vamsa* has been referred to (**Chart IA, 2, 4, 7, 8, 16, 17**). Sometimes, we also notice instances where expressions like *Chajukyanvaya* (**Chart IA, 3, 13**), *Nripa vamsa* (**Chart IA, 12**) and *Visnu vamsa* (**Chart IA, 15**) came to be used to describe the ruling family's affiliations. References to these different expressions go on to suggest the looseness or vagueness with which the term *Chalukya kula* was used in TYPE I cases. However, in TYPE II a certain clarity emerges with a large majority of inscriptions consistently adopting the term *Chalukya kula* to claim the origin of the Chajukyan family. This is evident from the fact that in TYPE II, we have a significant number, namely, 50 out of 57 examples that referred to '*Chalukya Kula*' (**Chart IA, 46-61, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76, 87-94, 96-99, 101, 104-113, 115-117**). Nonetheless, the use of other terms such as '*Chajukyanvaya*' and '*Chajukya vamsa*' continues though to a lesser extent. For instance, the term '*Chajukyanvaya*' has been mentioned only in two early examples of TYPE II (**Chart IA, 11, 34**). Similarly, the term '*Chajukya vamsa*' has been used only in four instances (**Chart IA, 100, 102, 103, 114**). However, in an interesting example that can be traced almost to the end of Phase 1, we notice that, for the first time, an important reference has been made to trace the origin of the '*Chajukyavamsa*' from the Sun (**Chart IA, 114**). Thus, for instance, in the Parabhani Plates²⁵, dated to 966 AD of Arikesari III, the ruler of the minor Chajukyan family of Vemulavada, it has been clearly mentioned that Chalukyas had originated from the Sun (*Asty=Aditya-bhavd vamsah Chalukya iti visrutah*). Interestingly, apart from this, the inscription does not mention either the *gotra* or the matronymic of the Chajukyas as noticed in the majority of examples cited above.²⁶ Such an

attempt especially by a minor Chajukyan family, is a clear indication of their intentions to move away from other Chajukyan families and thus establish its own individual identity distinct from its kinsmen.

In the context of Phase 2 that corresponds to the period between the 11th century AD to the 12th century AD, we have genealogies belonging to TYPES III and IV. This Phase is crucial as it reflects important changes in the descriptive pattern of mythical genealogies in the *prasastis*, which are now found to be different in style and content. During this Phase in TYPE III, we can categorize the mythical genealogies in three ways. Thus, while in the first category we have noted that the mythical genealogy given follows the pattern described in the earlier phase, in the second category, we find the Chajukyasa referring to their double-gotra status. Finally, pertinently it is in the third category that we find that different components of the mythical genealogies being elaborated to explain the mythical origin of Manavya, Harita, *Chajukya vamsa* and *Satyasrayakula*.

In the first category of TYPE III, we have 6 instances where the mythical genealogy appears similar to that described above for TYPES I and II during Phase 1. Here, the Chajukyasa are simply mentioned as belonging to the *Manavya gotra* as the sons of Hariti and as belonging to the *Chajukya kula* (**Chart IB, 4, 14, 57, 59, 69, 86**). This shows that there was no sudden break pattern from the earlier genealogy identification. However, unlike in TYPES I and II, where the mythical genealogy is prefixed to the historical genealogy in the just cited examples, it is markedly prefixed to the semi-historical genealogy. Some of these examples can be traced to the Western Deccan. In contrast to the above examples, we have noted 14 instances from the Eastern Deccan, where the Chajukyasa are categorically mentioned as belonging to the double-gotra of Manavya (viz., *Ivipaksa gotra*). They are further described as descendents of Hariti (*Haritiputranam*) and belonging to the *Chajukya kula* (**Chart IB, 7, 11, 19, 20, J6, 38, 44, 53, 54, 60, 61, 66, 97, 98**). Thus, for instance, the Ranastipundi inscription of Vimaladitya dated to 1011 AD, mentions a semi-historic king called Visnuvardhana, who was said to have assumed descent from the double *gotra* i.e.,

dvipaksa gotra of Manavya.²⁷ Interestingly, this is the first time that the term *dvipaksa gotra* has been used to perhaps to link the *Manavya gotra* to the *brahma-ksatra* lineage. However, in these examples there is no attempt to explain either the meaning of the term *dvipaksagotra*, or to trace the ancestry of Manavya, Harita and that of the Chajukya. The mythical genealogy in the above-cited examples is prefaced by the semi-historical genealogy of the Puranic and epic type as found in the *itihasa-purana* tradition.

In contrast to the above two categories of TYPE III, in the third category that emerged during the later half of Phase 2, we noted a complete revamp of the descriptive elements that went into the making of the mythical genealogy by the court poets. For the first time, we note that a serious attempt has been made by them to trace the origin of Manavya, Harita and Chajukya. In this exercise, they tried to connect these three mythical elements through establishing a biological linkage between each of them. This is in total contrast to the earlier examples of TYPES I, II and some of the early examples of TYPE III, where no such relationship between them is even remotely mentioned. Further, the origins of these mythical ancestors of the Chajukyias are also genealogically connected to Gods, as an attempt to locate the roots of the family in a-temporality. In this regard, one has noted three examples (**Chart IB, 83, 84, 88**) that belonged to the period between 1114 AD-1124 AD, which provide a full version of this type of mythical genealogy. Interestingly, these three examples differ from one another in the way the sequential narration of the mythical genealogy is explained. Thus, for instance, in the Sudi inscription dated to 1114 AD the mythical genealogy of the Western Chajukyias of Kalyani commenced with Brahma who was born from the navel of Visnu. It then mentions that Brahma's son was Manu Svayambhuva and the latter's son was Priyavrata. Priyavrata, it goes on to describe had seven sons Agnidhra and others who were assigned each of the seven continents elaborately known from their description in the *Puranas*. Then the narration of the inscriptional text shifts to the continent of Jambhudvipa in which was said to be situated the island of Kuntala that was ruled by one Chajukya Rama. The narrative then goes on to give the pedigree of his family in the following way: "From Visnu's lotus was born Brahma. From Brahma was

born Atri. From Atri has sprung the Moon (Budha) and from Budha has originated Pururavas who was mentioned as the founder of the Lunar dynasty (*Soma varnsa*). The son of Pururavas was stated to be Harita. The *prasasti* further mentions that Harita had many sons from whom sprang the Chalukya race {*varnsa*}²⁸ **(Chart IB, 83)**. In this example, one can pertinently note two distinct parts of the narrative. The first part intends to highlight the importance of the island of Kuntala in the legendary continent of Jambudvīpa that was once assigned to the illustrious progeny of Manu, that now came to be ruled by Chalukya Rama. The second part relates to the mythical connection of Chalukya Rama with the famous Pururavas and Harita. The mythical genealogy extends up to 5 generations starting with Brahma and ending with Harita. However, interestingly, the record omits the *gotra* name of Manavya from the genealogical list. This however, gets reflected in another example. In the Handarike inscription of Vikramaditya VI, dated to 1118 AD, we notice an entirely different narrative account of the mythical genealogy that starts from Brahma. Brahma's son was mentioned as Manu whose son in turn, was mentioned as Mandavya or Manavya. Manavya's son was mentioned as Harita and, in turn, his son was mentioned as Panchasikhi Hariti. It has been further stated that the Chajukyas have sprung from the sacred water in the cavity of the hands of Panchasikhi Hariti when he was offering prayers to Sun god **(Chart IB, 84)**. Thus, in this version an attempt has been made to biologically link up Manavya with Harita and then closely connect their origins directly with Manu and Brahma by emphasizing that they were their immediate predecessors. A slightly different version of the mythical genealogy is found in the Terdal inscription of Vikramaditya VI dated 1124 AD. In this record, it has been stated that after the origin of Brahma from the lotus of god Visnu, there was the birth of Harita. Harita's son here was mentioned as Mandavya. From Mandavya, it states, sprang Panchasikha and it is from the latter that many kings of the Chajukyan line are supposed to have descended **(Chart IB, 89)**. In this account there is the absence of the name of Manu in the genealogical order. Further, Manavya has been described as the son of Harita in total reversal

to the above example, wherein he was described as the father of Harita. In contrast to the above examples, Harita is now mentioned as directly descended from Brahma. Interestingly, in these examples, apart from the descriptive account of the mythical origins of Manavya, Harita and the Chalukyas, there is no separate mention of the expressions *Manavya gotra* or *Haritiputranam* or *Chalukya kula* as noted in TYPES I, II and in some early examples of TYPE III.

On the other hand, the *Vikramankadeva Carita* of Bilhana offers a slightly different version from the inscriptional *prasasti*. According to Bilhana's version of the story, the mythical origin of the Chalukyas begins with Brahma. It was mentioned that when once Brahma was engaged in his Sarpdhyā devotions, Indra approached him with a complaint of the growing godlessness on earth and requested him to put an end to it by creating a hero who would be a terror to the evil-doers. On hearing the request the Creator directed his looks towards his *chuluka*, from which sprang a handsome warrior fit to protect the three worlds. It is from him that the Chalukyas are described to have descended. Among them Harita is reckoned as first progenitor and Manavya arose from him, who humbled the kings of the earth.⁴⁹

An interesting departure from the above examples of mythical genealogies in TYPE III has been noted in two instances that belonged to the family of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani. In these examples, the term '*Chalukya kula*', has been replaced by the term '*Satyasrayakula*' (**Chart IB, 10, 88**). The origin of *Satyasrayakula* has been explained in the Balagamve³⁰ inscription of Jayasimha Jagadekamalla I, dated to 1019 AD. According to the narrative found in this record, it has been stated that the entire Chalukyan family claimed itself to have belonged to the *Satyasrayakula*. In this context, Satyasraya was explained as having being born in Brahma's family (**Chart IB, 10**). Thus, a direct linkage was established between Satyasraya and the Brahma. On the other hand, the Handarika inscription of Vikramaditya VI dated to 1118 AD mentions Satyasraya as one of the earliest members of the Chalukya family who ruled over Ayodhya (**Chart IB, 84**). In fact, it may be pertinently noted

that reference to Satyasraya as the progenitor of the Chajukyās had assumed such great significance in the Western Deccan that it came to be adopted in almost all the examples of the TYPE IV genealogies that invariably referred to *Satyasraya kula*³¹ as indicated in almost all the examples of this type irrespective of which Phase they belonged to **(Chart IA, 118-120) (Chart IB, 1-3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15-18, 21-35, 37, 39-43, 45-50, 51, 53, 55, 56, 58, 62-65, 67, 68, 70-72, 74-82, 85, 87, 89, 90, 92-94)**. However, there is no reference to the *Manavya gotra*, *Haritiputra* or the *Chalukya kula* as noted in the case of other TYPES of genealogies described above.

The above descriptions of various versions of mythical genealogies in both Phases 1 and 2 show variations that suggest to the relevant concerns of the ruling elite from time to time in defining their mythical past. In this regard, Romila Thapar has emphasized on looking at the notion of time embedded in these mythical genealogies that according to her provided a new identity and legitimization to the ruling elite by linking them with the heroes of the Puranic ancestry.³² Hence, in the light of the above descriptions of mythical genealogies, it would be pertinent to analyze them by looking at how the mythical or cyclic time has been conceptualized in the two phases of our study.

In the context of Phase 1, we have noted in the Parabhani Plates of Arikesari III, reference to the Sun from whom the Chajukyās traced their descent. This is interesting, for it takes back the antiquity of the family into timelessness that is cyclic in nature. Concomitantly, one can also see the existence of cyclic time that is evident from the mention of the term *kula* that sometimes was also referred to as *vamsa* or *anvaya* or *anvaya* in our data. *Kula* generally refer to a family and its origins are often traced back to the remote past located in a-temporality. In this sense therefore, reference to Chalukya *kula* or *vamsa* or *anvaya* through which the family was identified may be comprehended as suggestive of an underlying sense of time that came to be measured in cyclic time. Thus in Phase 1, one can see the presence of cyclic time in the mythical genealogies that provided the ruling elites with valid foundations for power, particularly, in the initial stages of their political ascendancy.

On the other hand, in TYPE III of Phase 2, we have noted that in all the three different versions of the mythical genealogies, tracing the lineage from Brahma, who was born through Visnu, was essentialized. In this context, it is pertinent to mention here that in Indian philosophical thought time was invariably identified with *purusa* or *j/Va*.³³ In this form time apparently assumes different forms as a creator, preserver and destroyer. These three important functions of time or *kala* came to be identified in Hindu mythology with the *Trimurtis* namely, Brahma, Visnu/ Narayana and Siva/ Rudra.³⁴ Hence, reference to Brahma and Visnu in these three examples, is perhaps to suggest that the ruling elite as exemplified in the descriptions of this TYPE of genealogy perceived cosmic time through personifying it in the form of Brahma and thus linked to Visnu. Linkage with Brahma was important since he was associated with the biggest unit of divine time. It has been further shown that both Manavya and Harita, in turn, were also connected to Manu (**Chart IB, 84**). The descent from Manu was important as it took back the origins of the family to a very remote past and was associated with huge time cycles known as *Manvantaras*³⁵ that refer to seventy-one times more than the age of the Gods. Concepts of time integrated with ideas on creation go into the making of what might be called cosmological time.³⁶ Therefore, latching on to both Brahma and Manu served as an effective means of giving both antiquity and prestige to the lineage.

In other examples (**Chart IB, 7, 11, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 60, 61, 66, 97, 98**) in TYPE III of Phase 2 discussed above, there is the mention of the *dvipaksa-gotra* (double *gotra*). In this connection, it would be pertinent to refer to Puranic sources as they offer explanations for the origin of the double-gotra lineage, particularly in connection with the origin of Harita, to whom the Chajukyas invariably trace their ancestry. Thus, for instance, in the *Vayu*³⁷ and *Liiga*³⁸ *Puranas*, Harita is said to be the son of Yuvanasha of the solar race who descended from Ikshvaku of the Gangetic-north. It is said that the sons of Harita were adopted by Ahgiras who was of spiritual lineage. The connection that was established between Harita and Ahgiras in the Puranic version is significant, since this *gotra* has been traditionally connected with the

discovery of fire.³⁹ In fact, in the Vedic hymns, the members of the Aigiras lineage were considered as Gods. All these associations go to suggest that the *gotras* that had descended from Ahgiras were considered among the oldest all *gotras*.⁴⁰ Therefore, in this context the adoption of the epithet Haritiputra may be seen as crucial as it traces the antiquity of the Chalukyan family to a remote and mythical past tracing their origin from the Gods themselves. Further, association with Ahgiras is also important as it was meant to retrospect the past of the ruling elite to the events connected with the invention of the all important sacrificial fire from the depths of which creation itself was said to emerge⁴¹. Thus, this origin myth of the family was located in primordial, a-temporal moments and therefore, indicates the symbolic presence of the sacred in the construction of mythical time that came to be understood as essentially cyclic in nature. Thus, from our analysis on the cyclic notion of time in the mythical genealogies of both Phases 1 and 2, we clearly discern a preponderance of cyclic time in Phase 2 than in Phase 1 where it exists but is more obscure than in Phase 2.

At the next level of analysis of the above data on the mythical genealogies, we now take up a discussion on issues pertaining to social identity of the Chalukyan kings as reflected from their mythical genealogies. It may be noted that the Chalukyas have come into political prominence during the early medieval period, when there were large-scale transformations in the socio-political and economic spheres of activity. These changes had implications on the way the ruling elite defined their mythical past rooted as it was in origin myths. The most direct inference is that claiming such origins acted as a legitimizing mechanism to assert authority when real control over territories was waning. Scholars like B. N. S. Yadava, B. D. Chattopadhyaya and Suvira Jaiswal have pertinently suggested that the fabrication of origin myths became an important phenomenon for claiming a *brahma-ksatra* status, a tendency noticed particularly, among the newly emerging ruling families during the early medieval period. In fact, the category of *brahma-ksatra* has drawn the attention of several scholars who suggested different explanation for its origins. Thus, for instance in one view, the status of *brahma-ksatra* was acquired by a change in the occupation of a *brahmana* to a traditional occupation of a

ksatriya.⁴² In another view, it resulted from the mixed marriage alliances between the *ksatriyas* and the *brahmanas*.⁴³ Yet in another, the status of *brahma-ksatriya* was acquired by tracing one's descent from the Puru lineage⁴⁴, and still in another, the adoption of the Bharadvaja *gotra*⁴⁵ itself conferred on the ruling elites with *brahma-ksatra* status as evidenced in the case of the Pallavas. On the other hand, we have scholars like B. N. S. Yadava and B. D. Chattopadhyaya who probed into the social and material conditions of the early medieval period to understand the origin of *brahma-ksatriyas*. Thus, these scholars postulated that the growth of feudal tendencies in the early medieval period, in terms of landed property, martial qualities and regalian rights emerged as the chief basis of determination of status and social privilege during this period. This also attracted the *brahmanas* who attempted to exchange their priestly duties for martial ones and ultimately became *ksatriyas*.⁴⁶ B. D. Chattopadhyaya further regards *brahma-ksatriyas* as a relatively open and an "intermediary" status that was seized upon by the new royal families before they could formulate a claim to a pure *ksatriya* origin. For example, the Guhilas and the Cahamanas were originally *brahmanas* but later they assumed *brahma-ksatriya* lineage to legitimize their new *ksatriya* role.⁴⁷ Thus, both these scholars consider *brahma-ksatriya* as "transitional status" from *brahmana* to *ksatriya* status.⁴⁸ Jaiswal also points out that 'the category of *brahma-ksatra* may have multiple origins, as it also included tribal priests who had risen to territorial kingship through internal developments within the tribe.'⁴⁹ She further observes that 'in some cases, it could have been a pure fabrication with necessary variations to provide for a miraculous ancestry that would provide the ruling elite with prestige and legitimacy. This would be especially so once the device had become well known and conventional.' The important point however, is that the *brahma-ksatra* model like the later Rajput model is used in the context of state formation in the tribal periphery or partly brahmanized regions.

Thus, we understand that *brahma-ksatra* status had emerged as an important model during the early medieval period. In the context of the present study, we may note from the descriptions of our data that in Phase 1, the

Chajukyas continuously established lineage linkages with Manavya and Harita. Hitherto, the *brahmana* dynasty of the Kadambas and their predecessors the Cutus⁵⁰ also called themselves as belonging to Manavya *gotra* and Haritiputra. It has been further noted that the Kadambas who were actually *brahmanas*, had assumed *ksatriya* status when one of their predecessors, Mayurasarman (varman) took to *ksatriya* profession to avenge the Pallava kings.⁵¹ In this regard, Bhandarkar has noted that a change in occupation from *brahmana varna* to *ksatriya varna* leads to the acquisition of the *brahma-ksatra* identity.⁵² This clearly indicates that the Kadambas claimed *brahma-ksatra* identity that was popular particularly, in the early medieval Deccan and South India.⁵³ Though Chajukyas had come to power by replacing Kadambas they however continued to establish their linkages with them by appropriating their mythical genealogy, which perhaps was firmly rooted in a popular memory, to define their own mythical past. Acceptance of mythical genealogies of those who were once in power, not only helped the new ruling elite to be successfully installed in power, but is also suggestive of their indirect association with the *brahma-ksatra* identity though this has not been hinted anywhere in their records of Phase 1. However, we also discerned that the Chajukyas in order to distinguish themselves from their predecessors, namely, the Kadambas adopted the term Chajukya *kula* or *varpsa* that had become the basis for a distinct Chajukyan identity.⁵⁴

The category of *brahma-ksatra* appears more prominent in TYPE III of Phase 2, i.e., from the 11th century to the 12th century AD. In this regard, we have noted that in the examples from the Eastern Deccan (**Chart IB, 7, 11, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 60, 61, 66, 97, 98**), there is the mention of the *dvipaksa-gotra* (double *gotra*). In this connection, we have already noted references from the Puranic sources that mention the origin of the double-gotra lineage, particularly in connection with the origin of Harita, to whom the Chalukyas invariably trace their ancestry. Thus, in the *Vayu Purana*, the sons of Harita were shown as *ksatriyas* who were adopted by Arigiras of spiritual lineage and hence, they came to be regarded as *brahmanas*, but endowed with

ksatriya like heroic prowess.⁵⁵ It is for this reason that the descendants of Harita came to be recognized with double *gotra* and double *varna* status of *brahma-ksatra*. Further, the connection that was established between Harita and Ahgiras in the Puranic version is significant, since this *gotra* was traditionally connected with the discovery of fire⁵⁶ and hence, considered to be one of the oldest and original *gotra*, whose members were even regarded as Gods.⁵⁷ All these facts go on to suggest that the *gotras* that had descended from Ahgiras were the oldest among all *gotras*. Therefore, in this context, the adoption of the epithet Haritiputra may be seen as crucial as it traces the antiquity of the Chajukyan family to a remote and mythical past tracing their origin from the Gods themselves. Hence, the claims of the Chajukyias to be the sons of Harita surely indicates that they were *brahma-ksatriyas*, though this actually does not come out explicitly in the descriptions of the mythical genealogies belonging to the Chajukyan families in the Eastern Deccan.

On the other hand, in some examples from the Western Chajukyias of Kalyani, we noted the origin of both Manavya and Harita whose descent was connected with Brahma. The insistence on the connection with Brahma in these myths becomes more apparent with each subsequent example, where the origin of the mythical founders of the Chajukyan families are brought gradually more closer to Brahma. Thus, while in the Sudi inscription dated to 1114 AD the distance between Brahma and Harita is calculated to be four generations, the Terdal inscription dated to 1124 AD, however, reduces this gap by linking Brahma and Harita directly. Similarly, even in the examples where Satyasraya is mentioned as the progenitor of the Chajukyias (**Chart IB, 10, 84**), a direct linkage was established between the Brahma and Satyasraya. In this regard, it appears that the order in which the mythical genealogy has been presented was not so important when compared to the linkage with Brahma. Thus, these examples are suggestive of the importance attached to Brahma primarily, for maintaining the purity of the lineage, so that the lineage could be traced back to a distant cosmic or divine time by even suggesting a biological relationship that must, however, remain in the realm of the fictive and imaginative.

Thus, from an analysis of our data, it is apparent that in TYPES I and II of Phase 1, it has been discerned that the mythical origins of the Chajukyās have been primarily borrowed from the local memories of the earlier rulers whom they subdued by their military prowess. This is apparent from the plain statements that mentioned *Manavya gotra*, *Haritiputra* and *Chajukya kula* in a more or less isolated manner without any connected account. Hence, not only the notion of cyclic time appears obscure, even the *brahma-ksatra* identity, which most of the ruling elites claimed during the early medieval period also remained nebulous in this Phase. On the other hand, in the examples of TYPE III in Phase 2, the notion of cyclic time becomes more obvious by conscious linkages with Brahma and Manu whose origins are rooted in timelessness. Similarly, even *brahma-ksatra* identity of the ruling families is more explicitly stated in this Phase than in Phase 1. Thus, these different versions of mythical genealogies noted in both Phases 1 and 2 of the present study, suggests that the immediate concerns of the ruling elite was to draw upon their identity on the basis of what they believe to be their past. Further, these samples of origin myths also indicate certain characteristics, which provide some clues to social concerns where in each case, the myth attempted to explain the origin of the Chajukyan family through the invention of new myths.

III

The *itihasa-purana* tradition was a critical source to retrieve the past by ruling elites in the TYPE III genealogies of Phase 2. As a trustworthy guide⁵⁸ its use was more apparent from the incorporation of semi-historical genealogies as part of the larger genealogical narrative of the Chajukya families. This tendency became widespread during the early medieval period. In this regard, B. D. Chattopadhyaya pertinently suggested that such an attempt on the part of the ruling elite "underlines the nature of polity in which new social groups continued to seek various symbols for the legitimization of their newly acquired power".⁵⁹ This was achieved with the patronage of the *brahmana* scholars well versed in the *itihasa-purana* tradition.⁶⁰ Apparently, these court poets did not invent mythical and semi-historic genealogies *per se* but selected, recorded and preserved only that information from the tradition that interested the ruling elite and that which was deeply rooted in the social memory of the people.

Hence, our next endeavor is to analyze semi-historical genealogy component as recorded in the inscriptions of the ruling elite under consideration. First, in the context of our study it must be stated that in TYPES I and II categories of genealogies in Phase 1, semi-historical genealogies are completely absent. In the charts appended these genealogies emerge only in the second phase, *i.e.*, from the 11th -12th centuries AD and therefore, their particularity at a certain point during the early medieval period has to be noted. Even in Phase 2, these are noted only in TYPE III category of genealogies that again have different versions of semi-historical genealogies. Though TYPE IV genealogies also co-existed with TYPE III in Phase 2, the latter too are devoid of the semi-historical genealogical component as part of their larger narrative structures. This leaves us only with TYPE III genealogies to discuss and analyze this component.

It would be pertinent to underscore here that the genealogical traditions as recorded in the *itihasa-purana* tradition were earlier the oral compositions that were composed by groups of bards called the *sutas* and the *magadhas* in north India.⁶¹ Initially, according to Thapar, these compositions were memorized, preserved and transmitted through oral tradition before they were appropriated by a class of *brahmanas*, who put them in written form in the *itihasa-purana* tradition as we know it today. Pargiter, one of the pioneers to study the political content of the *Puranas* suggests that there were two major and important genealogical traditions embedded in the *itihasa-purana* tradition which were adopted by the ruling elite to trace their lineages. They were the *Suryavarpsa* and the *Candravarnsa* traditions.⁶² The *Suryavarnsis* were supposed to be the descendents of the Ikshvaku lineage. Ikshvaku was the son of Manu and the progenitor of the *Suryavarnsa* lineage in direct line of descent from Aditi and Surya. The heroes of the epic *Ramayana* were regarded as descendents of the Ikshvakus and hence, they belonged to the *Suryavarnsa* lineage. On the other hand, the *Candravarnsa* lineage presented a different pattern of descent. The *Candravarnsa* lineage is said to have descended from the daughter of Manu, Ha who is said to have given birth to a son through Budha, the son of the Moon deity, Soma. The main line was from Ayus, to his eldest son Nahusa and further, to his eldest son and so on. The main focus of

the *Candravamsa* genealogy or Aila lineage is found elaborated in the other important epic of India, namely the *Mahabharata*.

During the early medieval period, it has been noted that there was a tendency among the newly formed elite of the multitude of political kingdoms to trace their genealogical linkages with the *ksatriya* families of the epics. These genealogies according to Romila Thapar, served as important historical records that promised continuity of succession.⁶³ Further, they also came to be treated as socially necessary documents as they helped in locating the family's roots in the most ancient past.⁶⁴ In the context of the present study, particularly in the examples of TYPE III, we have noticed that the ruling elite of different Chajukyan families adopted these Puranic and Epic genealogies of two great legendary *ksatriya* families. Their importance is evident from the large number of examples we have collected for this TYPE. It is pertinent to point out at this juncture that there are variations in the inscriptions of the Western Chajukyas of Kalyani and the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi in the contents of the genealogical narrative. Further, it has been noticed that while the records in the Eastern Deccan are uniform in their descriptions, those that are found in the Western Deccan are diverse manifesting some changes.

Thus, for instance one has pertinently observed that in 6 examples (**Chart IB, 4, 14, 57, 59, 69, 86**) of the Western Chalukyan records, after referring to the *Manavya gotra*, the *Haritiputra* and the *Chalukya kula* as a common feature in the examples of TYPE I and II genealogies too, in TYPE III it is additionally stated that "fifty nine kings of the Chajukya family reigned from Ayodhya". This is then followed by the mention of sixteen more kings who are said to have ruled over Dakshinapatha or the Deccan. However, interestingly, the names of neither the 59 kings nor, those of the 16 kings are mentioned. In a slightly different version dated to 1019 AD and 1118 AD respectively, the statement that 59 kings reigned at Ayodhya is retained. However, instead of stating that 16 kings followed them it introduces, for the first time, an eponymous person named Satayasraya from whom the Chalukyan kings are said to have traced their descent (**Chart IB, 10, 84**). Reference to Ayodhya as

the original seat of the progenitors of the Chalukyas is significant, as this place is associated with the illustrious family of the Ikshvakus of the Solar lineage (*Sdryavamsa*) and thus, connects the Chalukyas to the Solar lineage of Puranic antiquity. In contrast to these examples, we also noticed in an example dated to 1098 AD that records that the race of the Chalukyas had emerged from the Moon (Soma). He (the Moon) is stated to be the son of Atri, who, in turn, was born to Lord Brahma. After this statement the historical genealogy of the Chalukyan kings immediately begins (**Chart IB, 73**). Interestingly, in this example the linkage of the Chalukyas with Manavya, Harita, and Ayodhya is ignored totally. Further, the author of this record attempts to connect the Chalukyas with the *Candravamsa* lineage, by tracing their ancestry from Soma, the Moon, rather than from the *Suryavamsa* lineage as found in the early examples. An elaborate version of the above genealogy is found in the Sudi inscription of Vikramaditya VI dated to 1114 AD. In this record, one has noticed that the semi-historical or Puranic and Epic genealogy begins with Brahma and as was common in mythical narratives of the time was born from the navel of Visnu. Brahma was then succeeded by Atri, who, in turn, was succeeded by the Moon (Budha) from whom Pururavas descended. The son of Pururavas was mentioned as Harita from whom then directly descended the kings of the Chalukyan family (**Chart IB, 83**). In this regard, the descent of Harita from Pururavas is in total contrast to his descent as described as part of the mythical genealogies for TYPE III discussed above in Section II. We have pointed out that in the Puranic sources the origin of Harita was supposed to be from Yuvanasha, the descendent of the Ikshvaku lineage of the solar race. However, in this example, by recording Harita's descent from Pururavas, who is credited as the founder of the *Candravamsa* lineage, the court poets were consciously deviating away from the earlier memory of lineage connection and trying to fabricate new legendary genealogical linkages for Harita, thus reversing the Puranic version. This was probably done keeping the objective of local situation in mind where the *Candravamsa* lineage in the social memory held greater significance. This in all probability necessitated the ruling elite to appropriate it to define their own past.

Fabricating new legendary genealogies of a semi-historical nature was a common and an ongoing process. We find similar tendencies in the inscriptions belonging to the Chajukyas of Vengi and Jananathapuram from the Eastern Deccan, where too a detailed Puranic and Epic genealogy of *Candravamsa* lineage was furnished. This, however, is suffixed by a semi-historical genealogy that was different from the one narrated above in the case of the Western Chajukyan family. Fourteen instances (**Chart IB, 7, 11, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 60, 62, 66, 97, 98**) give us descriptions of the *Candravamsa* lineage. The earliest of this version appeared in the Ranastipundi⁶⁵ grant of Vimaladitya, of the Eastern Chajukyan family, dated to 1011 AD. In this record, the genealogical descriptions begin with Lord Narayana (i.e., Visnu) from whose navel was said to be bom Svayambhu (i.e., Brahma). Brahma was then mentioned to have been succeeded by Atri. The latter's son was mentioned as Moon (Budha) and his son's name was given as Ayuh and, in turn, his son was mentioned as Nahusa to be then succeeded by his son Yayati. Yayati's son was mentioned as the founder of the Puru race. The record goes on to give more of these biological linkages to ultimately present a genealogical list of 27 ancestors in the Puru race till it reached the description of the genealogy of the heroes of the *Mahabharata*. From here onwards one notices, a conscious attempt made to link up the genealogy of the Chajukyan family to that of the protagonists of the story, namely, the Paridavas. After this it mentions the name of Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna as the successor of the Pahdavas who is stated to have been succeeded by Parikshit followed by Janamejaya, Kshemukah, Naravahana, Satanikah and finally Udayana, the ruler of Magadha, thus giving a genealogical account of up to 47 kings of the *Candravamsa* lineage. It then states that "with him (i.e., Udayana), fifty-nine emperors whose successors were uninterrupted and who sat on the throne of Ayodhya had passed away" (For complete genealogical list of this account, see **APPENDIX V**). Subsequently, the narration shifts to detailing a semi-historic genealogy. Here, reference is made to one Vijayaditya of Ayodhya, who lost his life in conflict with Trilochana Pallava, during his Deccan conquest. However,

Vishnubhattasomayajin, a *brahmana* saint is said to have rescued his widowed queen Mahadevi who was pregnant during this time. She gives birth to a son named Visnuvardhana. He is mentioned to have been succeeded by his son named Vijayaditya. In turn, his son Visnuvardhana was succeeded by his son named Vijayaditya. This is subsequently followed by the narration of the historical genealogy of the family commencing from Pulakesi Vallabha of the Badami Chajukyan dynasty. In these examples of TYPE III, we thus find that there is a conscious attempt to trace the origin of the Chajukyias through providing a lengthy pedigree of the *Candravamsa* lineage of the north Indian tradition. Similar account of the semi-historic or Puranic and Epic genealogy is noted in the inscriptions of the minor Chalukyan family of Jananathapuram who tried to emulate the records depicting TYPE III genealogies of the Eastern Chalukyias of Vengi to whom they also owed political allegiance, as this would enable them to seek ideological support for their kingdoms from the dominant rulers of the region (**Chart IB, 97, 98**).

However, in the inscriptions of other minor Chajukyan families of Mudigonda and Nidadavolu such detailed semi-historical genealogies as described above are absent. Nonetheless, these Chalukyan families did connect themselves with the *Candravamsa* lineage. Thus, for instance, the Krivvaka inscription of Kusumaditya of the Mudigonda Chajukyan family, and dated between 1140 AD-1147 AD, begins the genealogy with Brahma who, as was the convention, was said to be born from the navel of Narayana (Visnu). The record then proceeds to state that from Brahma was born Atri and from him sprang the *Somavamsa* to which the Chajukyias belonged (**Chart IB, 95**). On the other hand, in a couple of instances, the records simply state that the Chajukyias had descended from the *Somavamsa* or the Lunar race (**Chart IB, 91, 96**).

From the above descriptions, it is evident that in all the examples, except the Sudi inscription of the Western Chajukyias of Kalyani, linkage with the solar lineage is clearly emphasized. On the other hand, in the Sudi inscription, we have

interestingly noted that a connection between the solar and the lunar lineages was attempted. This was done by establishing a biological relation between Harita and PurGravas. On the contrary, in the Eastern Chalukyan inscriptions and that of the minor Chalukyan family of Jananathapuram an elaborate version of the *Candravamsa* lineage gets highlighted. Apart from this, reference to Ayodhya as the original seat of the Chajukyas was also emphasized, thus suggesting the presence of a possible solar linkage. Significantly, this peculiar phenomenon of including both the solar and the lunar elements in the semi-historical genealogies of the Chajukyan families implies to their association with the sun and moon and, therefore, carries rich symbolism. In fact, the choice of lineages associated with the sun and the moon appear as an obvious selection as this purports to an important way of conceptualizing mythical or cyclic time and thus linking up their personal identity to these time constructs. Mythical or cyclic time also came to be perceived as something powerful and divine. Associating an individual to these notions of time reckoning was very crucial for the ruling elite, particularly when they were trying to ascribe themselves with certain characteristics of divinity, as a method of enhancing their personal glory- a point that has also been emphasized by Ronald Inden.⁶⁶ According to him, "to have the substances of the sun and moon in their bodies meant that kings too were powerful deities transcending the earth and were, like the sun and moon themselves, intimately involved in the regulation of the day, the month and the year".⁶⁷ Hence, we may comprehend that one of the ways of time reckoning in this section of the data may be characterized by the presence of cyclic notion of time that is then metaphorically connected to the cycles of nature or the universal natural order.⁶⁸

Another way through which time has been reckoned in these semi-historic genealogies was through genealogical computation. This has been done in the systematic arrangement of different genealogical traditions in sequential order. Thus, we have pertinently noticed that in the examples belonging to the Western Deccan, though there are variations in the narratives of what we labeled as semi-historic genealogies, nonetheless, all these examples begins with a mythical genealogy as a prelude to the semi-historical genealogy followed by the historical genealogy. Thus, by this methodical ordering of the genealogical data, a linearity of the movement of time from cyclic/ mythic time

to historical time was accomplished. On the other hand, time reckoning in the genealogical traditions of the Eastern Deccan, when the genealogy started with the Puranic and Epic accounts, they were followed by the semi-historical narratives and mythical genealogies and this indicates a complex matrix in which time was webbed. Thus, in these examples, we notice that time reckoning was first characterized by the sequence of generations that is suggestive of linear time and then refers to the mythic time that is usually considered cyclic in nature. Further, they also indicate the progress of time from *Mahayuga* to the *Kali yuga*.⁶⁹

Time reckoning in semi-historic genealogies, served to legitimize the ruling elites of the Chajukyan families by linking them with the heroes of Puranic ancestry. Some rulers however, did not resort to Puranic ancestry as noted in the select examples above pertaining to the Western Deccan. Here the Puranic connection was, on the other hand, brought in indirectly when the genealogies referred to 59 kings that ruled over Ayodhya and thus in a sense, even went beyond the Puranic view of the past.⁷⁰ This has also become important for the ruling elite to claim pure *ksatriya* status. On the other hand, in the records of the Eastern Chalukyas and the minor Chajukyas of Jananathapuram kings, the Puranic connections were more prominently established by direct incorporation of the *Candravarpsa* lineage. In contrast to the above, the records of other minor Chajukyan families of Mudigonda and Nidadavolu makes only a simple statement to refer to their linkages with the pan-Indian families of Puranic fame. This clearly suggests that there is no uniform pattern in enumerating the puranic and epic connections among these different Chajukyan families. Nonetheless, all these families attempted to claim new social identity in their local areas of control. The reasons for such practice were ascribed to the changing political, social and economic conditions of the period that emphasized the need to fabricate new genealogies connecting to the puranic and epic past. This has been seen as a legitimization⁷¹ process by the newly emerging state societies in different regions of India. In this regard, B. D. Chattopadhyaya pertinently underscores that "One dimension of the presence of trans-political ideology in all state systems was the need for constant validation of power, which was made possible by establishing linkage

with a respectable *ksatriya* ancestry or by underlining its local roots".⁷² In this context, the *itihasa-purana* tradition became one of the means of legitimizing the newly acquired *ksatriya* status by the new ruling elite as an effective means of consolidating political power. Chattopadhyaya, further postulates that '*brahma-ksatra*' has become a transitional category, in this regard, before the ruling elites could formulate a claim to pure *ksatriya* origin⁷³, as shown in the case of the Guhilas who have risen from *brahmana* (10th-11th century) to *brahma-ksatra* (13th century) to *Suryavarpsa* (16th century).⁷⁴ However, in the context of our study, we do not come across such a clear pattern of transition as evidenced in the case of the Guhilas. Instead, our data in TYPE III genealogies presents a complex matrix of both the *brahma-ksatra* and the *ksatriya* origins of the Chalukyas drawn from the *itihasa-purana* tradition, as noticed from the records of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani, the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi and the minor Chalukyas of Jananathapuram. Nonetheless, these conscious concoctions of both mythical and semi-historical genealogies provided the ruling elite of the Chalukyan families with a new and powerful social identity of *ksatriya* status to assert their political power in the days of turmoil that emasculated and shook the political stability of the kingdom. Therefore, this phenomenon of adopting fabricated genealogies connecting with the legendary families of the Puranic past, especially, by the latter rulers was consciously a political ideology to consolidate their own power in the kingdom at a time when fissiparous tendencies were emerging. This also points to the commonness of the political ideology that was evolving in early medieval India.⁷⁵

All these different versions of semi-historical genealogies explicated so far indicate a repetition of the same myths, with perhaps some modifications from age to age. Therefore, we get various versions of these myths that reflect distinct memories of the past, which were then organized into different memory structures.⁶ Hence, we find that court poets who were employed as *prasasti* writers, constantly engaged in selecting, revising and rearranging the ideas from the *itihasa-purana* tradition.⁷⁷ This was done for the purpose of preserving and giving significance to an important aspect of the past⁷⁸ that would be

compatible to the local political and social conditions. This was perhaps partly to ensure that 'the message'⁷⁹ got through for contemporary claims to power but also for posterity that the Chajukyas had a glorious past and partly to indicate how new nuances⁸⁰ determined of what they were keen to selectively remember as their past. It was significantly also to make conscious attempts to be integrated into the broader literary narrative traditions of looking into the past. These were necessarily rooted in ideological structures of the mythic and cosmic notions of times as that gave these families a hallowed almost divine status, which few of their contemporary competitors could match.

The data thus far discussed pertinently highlights the important role these origin myths have played in defining the notion of 'history' in the pre-modern society. The variation between the early and the later versions of the origin myths also indicates the manner in which they were used. One was clearly for legitimization of political power by defining the past within the given structures of times and the other for consciously forming an identity that was pertinent to the concerns of the period.⁸¹ In the context this study, it has been clearly indicated, particularly in Phase 2, that the selective appropriation of the mythical past and the Puranic past became crucial for the ruling elite to re-define their own past, which was apparently more imagined than real. These conscious inclusions into the *prasastis* took place at a time when the newly emerging local chiefs ruling contemporaneously with the main Chajukyan ruling families posed a challenge to the political stability of their respective empires. Hence, the incorporation of mythical and Puranic and Epic genealogies of the ruling elite can be understood as crucial ways in which these ruling elites preferred to describe their past in different contexts of time and space. In fact, one can even underscore here that it was primarily, the memory of this past that provided justification to their kingship⁸² and thus, came to be essentially looked at as charters of validation for current sometimes unstable political situations confronting them. Hence, it appears that the chief purpose for accepting origin myths through which the mythical time was reckoned in the genealogies of ruling elite was to provide them with an antiquity and purity of origin.⁸³ Fitting into a structure of an imagined social or ideological construct rooted in mythical time enabled them to establish an identity different from the local through claiming purity of their family and lineage. Further, we argue that

by reckoning time through such mythical origins of family genealogies of the ruling elite also simultaneously evolved ideological strategies through which they sought legitimacy to a pan-Indian identity while being politically and economically rooted in specific regional and pan-regional contexts. We shall elaborate on these issues in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

It must, however, be emphasized here that the different mythical and semi-historic genealogies came to be described in both inscriptional and literary sources. The overlapping of the textual with the epigraphic data thus reflects on the fact that ruling elite perceptions of their past did not treat these modes of collective and individual memory in two separate compartments. In fact, rather than rejecting the literary source as vague and irrelevant accounts of no significant authority or value, as done by the majority of conventional historians⁸⁴, in our argument they are an integral part of the source base that has to be looked into in its totality, since the inscriptional *prasasti* was not disconnected from its ideological moorings.

IV

Thus far, we have been discussing the notions of time that reflected on both metaphysical and mythical allusions of the past as they appear in the description of genealogies in our sources. However, genealogies as historical records, besides documenting the mythical and the Puranic past, also embodied dynastic *varṇsa* traditions of the historical past, wherein the names and achievements of the king's ancestors were preserved in a sequential chronological order. The aim and importance of such a history reflecting on a historical past was also explicated in the injunctions laid down in the *Sastras*. Accordingly, it was stated that when an economic transaction in the form of land grants took place it was imperative to list the name of the donor along with the names of his ancestors and narrate their military achievements in laudatory terms.⁸⁵ Since the main purpose of inscriptions, as legal charters, was to register economic transactions given in the form of donations of land to religious and non-religious beneficiaries, incorporation of genealogical traditions

as a prelude to such charters therefore, required the noting down of the actual and real period time when such transactions were effected. It is precisely for this purpose that the use of historical eras as well as regnal years came into being. This further, enhanced the importance of genealogies by locating the king and his dynasty more firmly in contemporary time.⁸⁶ Therefore, in this regard, it becomes crucial for us to understand the historical genealogy of the various Chajukyan families as recorded in the four different TYPES of genealogies delineated for the present study, in the two different Phases marked for the purpose. This is done by focussing on the changes within and between each TYPES. While doing so, we have also highlighted on the importance of maintaining cross-dynastic linkages, by these various Chalukyan families which can be seen and understood as effective mechanisms for claims to authority by a more pragmatic use of the historical/ immediate past.⁸⁷

In the context of TYPE I in Phase 1 we have the dynastic traditions of the Badami Chalukyas and the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. In the records of these two ruling families, it has been noted that the genealogical tradition bears names not exceeding more than three generations, excluding the king to whom the inscription is attributed. In this regard, four different patterns of enumerating historical genealogies have been observed by us from their records. For instance, in few inscriptions only the name of the king has been mentioned without any reference to his ancestors. Examples of this pattern are very few and are found in some of the earliest instances of TYPE I (**Chart IA, 1, 2, 6, 12, 14, 15, 18**). This can be exemplified in the following case. Thus, the Badami inscription⁸⁸ of Mangalesa for instance, dated to between 590-610 AD, after giving the mythical genealogy, immediately only refers to the name of the reigning king, along with a eulogy of his achievements. Regarding the use of eras and the regnal years that are the first indicators of locating specific time periods, we have only three examples in this pattern that refer to the Saka era along with the regnal year of the ruling king (**Chart IA, 1, 2, 6**). In such descriptions, therefore, the idea of detailing the historical past in specific sequences or units of time is evidently absent. However, concomitantly, there also exist a few records, where gradually the name of the king's father is inserted. Examples of this pattern are found in 8 instances (**Chart IA, 4, 10, 13, 16, 17, 40, 45, 70**). This suggests the emerging concern among the

ruling elite to note the immediate ancestor without still re-looking the importance of maintaining dynastic lists of the family. Interestingly, reckoning of time through the use of era is found to be absent in the above examples belonging to this pattern. Instead, in one example, we have noted the use of *sarnvatsara* for the first time, which is mentioned as *Chahatva samvatsara* (**Chart IA, 4**). In another example, the regnal year of the king was given as *ekavimsativarttamane* (i.e., 21st year in current) (**Chart IA, 10**). That the use of the Saka era is still not popular is evident from its marginal use in the examples of the third pattern, where we have noted that two generations of names of the family begin to emerge, namely, that of the king's father and his grand father. Examples of this type are many. In this regard, we have 30 out of 60 instances in what we have categorized as TYPE I genealogies (**Chart IA, 5, 7, 9, 22-24, 26, 29-33, 38, 62, 63, 67, 68, 71, 75, 77-86, 95**). However, reckoning of linear time through the use of an era was noted in only two of these examples (**Chart IA, 5, 9**). Instead, in 8 examples, we have noticed the use of regnal years to indicate the contemporary time of the king's reign (**Chart IA, 22, 26, 33, 35, 38, 63, 67, 71**)

This trend of referring to the regnal year of the king continues in a large number of inscriptions belonging to the fourth pattern of noting historical genealogies. In this pattern, we have 15 examples, in which we also notice an extension of the historical genealogy up to three generations, wherein the names of the king's great grandfather, grandfather and his father are now included in defining the dynastic list in these *prasastis* (**Chart IA, 3, 19-21, 25, 27, 28, 35-37, 39, 41-44**). The only difference of this pattern from the above-described third pattern is the extension of the historical genealogy by inclusion of the name of the great grand father of the king. However, an interesting variation that occurs in pattern four, unlike the earlier three patterns, is that in three examples, we noted the mention of both the Saka era and the regnal year together whereas earlier they were always mentioned separately (**Chart IA, 35, 42, 44**). This is an important marker in the reckoning of linear and actual time that most certainly perfected on the earlier patterns. Further, the number of examples referring to the regnal year of the king has also increased in this pattern in comparison with the earlier patterns. Thus, we have about 12 examples that gave the actual date of the record in

terms of the regnal year of the king (**Chart IA, 3, 19, 20, 25, 27, 28, 35, 37, 39, 41, 42, 44**). This may be exemplified through the Gadval plates of Vikramaditya I. In this record, one noticed that after mentioning the mythical genealogy, the names of three generations of king's predecessors, namely his great grandfather, grand father and father respectively are mentioned. This is then followed by reference to the contemporary time that is expressed as saka varshe 596 and the regnal year has been mentioned &s 20 (i.e., pravardhamana vijaya rajya samvatsare, vimsati varttamane)^{8^}, In all these different patterns discussed above the mythical genealogy preceded the historical genealogy. They suggest to an the evolutionary process in the formation of historical genealogies as well as the growing concern to document the same using more precise methods of reckoning time through the use of an era and the regnal year of the king.

In some 14 examples discussed above that belonged to the Eastern Chajukyas of Vengi, we also find references to the biological linkages with the parent branch, namely the Chalukyas of Badami. Variations are noted in the way these connections were made, sometimes by referring to only one member of the family, or sometimes two or three members. In this regard, we noted in one instance, the mention of the names of two members of the parent branch, namely, the grandfather and father of the king (**Chart IA, 7**). For instance, in the Satara copper plate⁹⁰ inscription of Kubja Visnuvardhana, the record mentions the names of Pulakesi I and Kirtivarman I as the Grandfather and father of the king, respectively. In another instance, we noted the mention of even the great grand father of the king, namely Ranaraga, besides the mention of the grand father and father of the king who belonged to the parent branch (**Chart IA, 8**). On the other hand, in about 10 examples, we noticed the mention of Kirtivarman I of the parent branch as the grandfather of the king (**Chart IA, 22-24, 26, 29-32, 38, 39**). It may be stated at the outset that the Aihole inscription⁹¹ of Pulakesi II dated to 634 AD, provides us with substantial clues for Eastern Chalukyas allegiance towards the Badami Chalukyas. The inscription mentions Pulakesi II as the most powerful of the Badami Chalukyan kings, who accompanied by his younger brother Kubja Visnuvardhana, undertook a vigorous expansionist policy of his kingdom through military conquests. In this process he is also said to have conquered several places

of the Eastern Deccan, mainly by the efforts of his brother Kubja Visnuvardhana. Hence, in recognition to the services rendered by his brother on the battle-field, Pulakesi II not only appointed him as viceroy of the newly conquered Vengi **country** but also conferred on him hereditary ruler-ship of the kingdom of Vengi.⁹² Thus, Kubja Visnuvardhana was introduced as the founder of the new independent Chalukyan dynasty in the Eastern Deccan with Vengi as its capital. However, that this Eastern branch of the Chalukyan dynasty did not sever its relationship with the their parent branch, namely the Chajukyias of Badami is evident from the above examples, where there was constant reference to the members of their parent branch in the historical genealogy of their records. This reflects the continuity of relationship that had existed between these two branches. Reference to the parent branch who had already carved a niche for themselves as the most powerful and recognized dynasty of the Deccan, is crucial for the members of the Eastern Chajukyan dynasty, particularly in their initial stages of rise in an alien land of Vengi, as this would further enhance their claims for legitimization of their political authority. Nonetheless, one also noticed about 19 examples where such linkages are not mentioned at all (**Chart IA, 40, 41, 45, 62, 63, 67, 68, 70, 71, 77-86**). This has been noticed for the first time around 673 AD, in the records beginning from Visnuvardhana II onwards up to the reign of 'ijayaditya II. In these records, though we find the mention of three lenerations, yet reference to the Badami ChaJukyan rulers was absent. One reason for this change in attitude of the later kings, could be attributed to their intention to assert an independent identity by excluding the names of the kings of their parent branch from the genealogical lists, since the political power of the latter during this period, was on recession.

As opposed to different patterns of TYPE I genealogies, in the examples of TYPE II pertaining to Phase 1, one notices that no longer do historical genealogies appear to be short pedigrees, but rather occurs as long lists in chronological order of kings beginning with the founder of the dynasty. Two different traditions may be observed in this regard. In the first tradition we have records that rendered a lengthy historical genealogy along with reference to an era and the regnal year. In the second tradition we have records **that not** only mention the lengthy list of ancestors, but also refer to the number of years

each ruler had ruled. Interestingly, reference to an era and the regnal year of the king is absent in this second tradition.

In the examples belonging to the first tradition, we notice that the number of generations of ancestors increased with each succeeding king without any reference to the number of years each king ruled for. Another important aspect is that, almost all the members mentioned in this type of historical genealogy were glorified with their high sounding titles, military expeditions and so on. This is then followed by the mention of the Saka era along with the regnal year indicated in numbers. This type of tradition existed from the later half of the seventh century AD up to the 8th century AD. We have about 28 instances in this regard (**Chart IA, 11, 46-61, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76, 102, 103, 114**). A typical example, for instance, is the Vokkaleri inscription of Kirtivarman II in which the historical genealogy begins with Sri Pulakesi Vallabha who has been mentioned as the performer the horse-sacrifice (*asvamedha*). His son is then mentioned as Sri Kirtivarman whose military conquests and titles are referred to. In turn, his son was further mentioned as Satyasraya who was glorified for his victory over Harsha, the lord of the North (Uttarapatha) and also referred to with high sounding titles. The list goes on like this up to the reign of Kirtivarman II in whose time the record was written. (For the detailed genealogy see **APPENDIX I**). This historical genealogy is then followed by the mention of the date when the grant was issued. This is given as Saka varsha 680, *pravardhamana vijayarajya samvatsare, ekadasa varttamane*⁹³ (Le., the 11th regnal year in current).

Besides reference to the Saka era we also have a couple of instances (**Chart IA, 11, 100**) where the *kaliyuga* is mentioned as an important method of dating inscriptions. For example, in the Aihole inscription⁹⁴ of Pulakesi II of the Badami Chalukyan dynasty, the author of the grant, Ravikirti mentions the date of the record as 3735 years expired after the *Bharata* war. This harks back in trying to establish a continuity with the legendary *aitihasika* past but at the same time, he also simultaneously refers to the Saka year 556 (expired). In some other examples contemporary time was reckoned through the mention of

the name of the cyclic year. This has been noticed in three examples (**Chart IA, 102, 103, 114**). For, instance, the Vemulavada inscription⁹⁶ of Arikesari II and Parabhani inscription⁹⁶ of Arikesari III, gives the dates of the records as '*Parabhava sarnvatsara*' and '*Akshaya Sarnvatsara*', respectively. This intertwining of cyclic time with the more dominant notions of linear time has an important bearing on their continuing co-existence and thus on the way the past was remembered.

On the other hand, in the examples that belonged to the second tradition, we have a much more linear tradition. Here, we find that a lengthy historical genealogy emerges that appears to have been carefully drafted. It records even the reign period of each king starting from the earliest member of the dynasty. The development of this tradition was first seen in the Sataluru⁹⁷ inscription of Gunaga Vijayaditya III dated to the mid-ninth century AD from the Eastern Deccan. In this regard, we have about 27 examples that rendered a lengthy historical genealogy of the king's predecessors (**Chart IA, 87-94, 96-101, 104-113, 115-117**). This may be best illustrated from the following example. The Satalur inscription of Gunaga Vijayaditya III begins the description of the historical genealogy from the reign of Kubja Visnuvardhana, who was mentioned as the brother of Satyasraya Pulakesi II and is stated to have ruled for 18 years. Jayasirpha who ruled for 33 years succeeded Kubja Visnuvardhana. It then mentions one Visnuvardhana, who is described as the son of Jayasirpha's younger brother Indra-rajā, who had ruled for 9 years. Then the record mentions Visnuvardhana IV who ruled the Verigimandala for 35 years and goes on like this till it reaches the name of Gunaga Vijayaditya III, in whose reign the record had been written. Subsequently, this descriptive pattern of the historical genealogy was followed in all other *prasastis* of the successors of Gunaga Vijayaditya III. (For the detailed genealogy, see **APPENDIX II**). Interestingly, in none of these examples, the Saka era as noted in the above patterns of the first tradition of TYPE II, is mentioned.

This brings us to a description and discussion of genealogies referred to by us as TYPE III that fall into Phase 2 of this study. In these examples, the

historical genealogy was set in an entirely different time framework that corresponded to the period between the 11th century AD to the 12th century AD. In this TYPE, we discern several variations in the way the historical genealogy came to be described in the records belonging to different Chalukyan families across dynasties as well as in the records pertaining to the same dynasty. We next elaborate on some of these features.

In the examples belonging to the Eastern Chalukyan tradition, we notice that the historical genealogy that is preceded by the Puranic/Epic and semi-historical and the mythical genealogies respectively, begins with the mention of three generations of kings of the parent branch⁹⁸ namely, those of the Badami Chalukyan dynasty. This is then followed by the mention of the full list of kings belonging to the Eastern Chalukyan dynasty up to the king issuing the record. This is best illustrated in the Ranastipundi inscription of Vimaladitya dated to 1011 AD which begins the historical genealogy with Pulakesi I, the founder of the Badami Chalukyan dynasty. He is then followed by the mention of Kirtivarman and Satyasrayavallabha (Pulakesi II), respectively as his successors. From here onwards, the narrative is focused on enumerating the historical genealogy of the Eastern Chalukyan kings beginning from Kubja Visnuvardhana I, who was regarded as the founder of the Eastern Chalukyan branch. Interestingly, we note that the narration of this historical genealogy coincides with the one described in TYPE II, where the number of years ruled by each king is mentioned against their names overlap in the descriptions of this type of historical genealogy. This has been noticed in 12 examples (**Chart IB, 7, 11, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 60, 62, 66**) of TYPE III indicating both its chronological continuity and specificity. There are two other examples highlighting a similar pattern of enumerating the historical genealogy. These records belong to the minor Chalukyan family of Jananathapuram but it is observed that in these examples the historical genealogy is rather lengthy. This is done by not only incorporating the names of three generations of kings belonging to the Badami Chalukyan dynasty, but also by giving a lengthy account of the Eastern Chalukyan kings up to the reign of Vikrama Choda who was the last known king of the Eastern Chalukyan dynasty. This is then

followed by the account of the names of six generations of kings belonging to the minor Chajukyan family of Jananathapuram, starting from Mallapadeva up to the donor of the grant (**Chart IB, 97, 98**) (For the genealogy of this family, see **APPENDIX IVD**). These examples taken together, clearly highlight the conscious attempts now made in Phase 2 to link up with the preceding Chalukya families and partake in their greatness not only to enhance the purity of the lineage, but also recognize the power connected with them.

Reckoning of contemporary time in the above examples was made by referring to the Saka era that came to be used more prolifically in the Eastern Deccan in Phase 2, compared to the limited number of examples found in Phase 1. In this regard, we noted 10 examples (**Chart IB, 7, 11, 19, 36, 44, 62, 67, 92, 99, 100**). Besides this, in about 7 examples one also noticed the simultaneous use of the chronogram that uses symbolic terms to indicate the regnal year of the king (**Chart IB, 11, 20, 36, 38, 44, 99, 100**). Thus for example, the Telugu Academy Plates of Saktivarman II mentioned the regnal year of the king as '*Guna vasu nidhf*. *Guna* here refers to the three *gunas*, *vasu* referred to the eight directions and *nidhi* referred to the *navaratnas* or the nine gems". When this is read from right to left, it gives us the number of 983 that indicated the date of the accession of the king. This new method of reckoning regnal years suggests a different pattern from the one practiced in the Western Deccan thus indicating sub-regional differences and also probably simultaneously asserting the moral authority of the king over his subjects.

In contrast to the above-described detailed historical genealogy of the Eastern Deccan, we find that in some records particularly, of the Western Deccan different types of historical genealogical narratives. In this regard, we have noted that in some examples, the records paid greater importance to enumerating the entire historical genealogy belonging to the parent branch, namely, the Badami Chajukyias. This is then followed by the account of the kings belonging to the main dynasty that was under consideration in issuing the inscription. This type of historical genealogy has been noticed in 7 instances (**Chart IB, 4, 14, 57, 59, 69, 84, 86**). It can be illustrated with the following example. In the Kauthem grant¹⁰⁰ of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramaditya V dated

1009 AD, we noted that the historical genealogy begins from Jayasimha Vallabha who was stated to have established the royal fortunes of the Chajukyan family. The record then states that Jayasimha Vallabha's son was Ranaraga, who was, in turn, succeeded by Pulakesi I. The genealogy goes on in this manner up to the reign of Kirtivarman II, who was the sixteenth king of this line. It then emphasizes that it was in his reign that the Badami Chajukyan kingdom was eclipsed by the Rattas who were powerful local chieftains of the region. The record then consciously attempts to show the continuity of the lineage by stating that the members of the Chajukyan family continued to be in existence ruling as an insignificant power under the brother of Vikramaditya, called Bhimaparakrama, in a small locality. His son is mentioned as Kirtivarman whose son, in turn, is stated to be Taila I. After giving these details the record lists four generations between Taila I and Taila II. The latter was credited with re-establishing the Chalukyan rule in the Western Deccan with Manyaketa as its first political capital which was later shifted to Kalyani under Somesvara I.¹⁰¹ Thus, a shift in the political capital from Badami under the early Chalukyas to Kalyani under the later Chalukyas of the Western Deccan was effected. The historical genealogy of the Western Chalukyan kings begins from Taila II onwards and this record continues to mention all other kings of this dynasty in sequential order up to the present king in whose time the record was written. One may further notice that the historical time in this pattern too appears to be lengthy, but unlike in the earlier pattern found in the Eastern Deccan, it refers to all the members of the parent branch to show the continuity of their relationship. This detailed historical genealogy was later found to be incorporated in the literary biographies of the period, namely in the *Vikramankadevacarita* of Bilhana and the *VikrHmarikabhyudaya*¹⁰² of Somesvara III Bhulukamalla dated to 1179 AD without any significant variation from the genealogies in the inscriptions.

Yet another example of variance noted in **TYPE III**, is the absence of the historical genealogy belonging to the parent branch i.e. of the Badami Chajukyan dynasty (**Chart IB, 10, 73, 83, 88, 95, 96**). In this instance, in

the Gadag¹⁰³ inscription of Vikramaditya VI, dated to 1099 AD, we noted that the record, immediately after giving a short semi-historical genealogy, enumerates the historical genealogy commencing from one Vikramaditya IV who was said to have been succeeded by Tailaraja. It then gives the name of his successor Satyasraya and goes on with this enumeration up to the reign of the king under consideration, namely Vikramaditya VI (**Chart IB, 73**). The historical genealogy in terms of the number of generations mentioned also varied in each of these above examples. Thus, for instance, while the Balagamve¹⁰⁴ inscription of Jagadekamalla dated to 1019 AD and the Terdal¹⁰⁵ inscription of Vikramaditya VI dated to 1123 AD gives only the names of three generations each, the Sud¹⁰⁶ inscription of Vikramaditya VI and Krivvaka¹⁰⁷ inscription of Kusumaditya of the Mudigonda Chajukyan family gives the names of seven generations of kings each.

With regard to the mention of eras and regnal years in the above examples, especially in the Western Deccan, one has noticed the marginal use of the Saka era that has been mentioned in only two examples (**Chart IB, 4, 14**). However, one significant development noticed in the records of TYPE III genealogies was the emergence of the use of *Chajukya Vikrama* era that came to be adopted for the first time in the Kallasambi¹⁰⁸ inscription of Vikramaditya VI dated to 1076-77 AD. This is subsequently noticed in 7 other examples (**Chart IB, 59, 61, 71, 75, 85, 86, 88**). Further, in these records one finds that the practice of naming the *samvatsara* after Jupiter's 60 years-cycle¹⁰⁹ gets intensified as against the limited examples we get in TYPE II where this naming process had just begun-

This method of time reckoning through the mention of the Saka and the *Chajukya Vikrama* eras along with the name of the *samvatsara* is noticed in large majority of inscriptions of TYPE IV also. In this regard, we find a prolific reference to the Saka era in 51 examples (**Chart IA, 118-120**), (**Chart IB, 1-3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15-18, 21-36, 37, 39-43, 45-52, 55, 56, 58, 68, 72, 92**). On the other hand, the *Chajukya Vikrama* era has been used in 19 examples (**Chart IB, 62-65, 67, 70, 71, 74-82, 85, 87, 89**). Owing to the popularity

of *Chajukya Vikrama* era that was named after the king, in enhancing the authority and identity of Vikramaditya VI to the maximum, his successors too emulated him in naming the era's after their personal names. Thus, we have *Chajukya Bhulokamalla varshad* that was named after the king Somesvara III (**Chart IB, 90**), *Chajukya Jagadekamalla Varshad* named after Jagadekamalla III (**Chart IB, 92**) and *Chalukya Trailokyamalladeva Varshad* named after Taila III (**Chart IB, 94**), respectively. Further, each of these eras is followed by the mention of *sarpvatsara* that is expressed through a regular method of using Jupiter's sixty-year cycle suggesting a partial continuation of cyclic time. Thus, the contemporary time in TYPE IV becomes more consolidated, consistent and systematic.

However, curiously the historical genealogy referring to the immediate past of the king is totally absent in genealogies we have called TYPE IV. Instead, one has noticed the mention of only the name of the king in whose reign the record was actually written (**Chart IA, 118-120**), (**Chart IB, 1-3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12-18, 21-35, 37, 39-43, 45-52, 55, 56, 58, 62-65, 67, 68, 70-72, 74-82, 85, 87, 89, 90, 92-94**). Instead, significantly we have noted the genealogies of the local chiefs and other dominant social groups in this TYPE. In this regard, we noted that their genealogies resembled those, which we had as categorized as TYPE I and II genealogies belonging to the main Chajukyan ruling families in Phase 1. Thus, we noticed 17 examples that evinced the characteristics of TYPE I genealogies (**Chart IB, 10, 13, 22, 23, 35, 46, 55, 63, 64, 72, 73, 80, 83, 84, 88, 89, 93**) and two examples that appeared similar to TYPE II genealogies (**Chart IB, 81/ 83**). This suggests that though TYPE I and TYPE II genealogies of the main ruling families cease to exist in Phase 2, their continuity is noticed in the genealogical traditions of the local chiefs and other dominant social groups, who were just beginning to emerge as dominant forces in their respective localities. Thus, from the above descriptive accounts of historical genealogies, we understand that the Chajukyan families of different branches followed diverse genealogical traditions that was suitable to their contemporary times and regions of control and did not follow any single pattern. This is also true in the case of their particular use of eras and regnal years.

From the above descriptions of historical genealogies of the main ruling families in both Phases 1 and 2, we have noted two different notions of time. One, describing the historical time that is reckoned by the number of generations of the immediate past, presented in linear progression and second, reference to the contemporary time recorded by date, era or period when the record was written. Reckoning of historical time through the successive list of generations, according to Thapar, presents a new pattern of chronology that is suggestive of linear time.¹¹⁰ In this regard, in Phase 1 where we have discussed historical genealogies of TYPES I and II, we noted different individual patterns in which there was a gradual lengthening of the time span between generations, thus placing each generation within the gambit of linear time that could be clearly located historically. Thus, for instance in the examples of TYPE I where there is only the mention of the king is made there is an apparent absence of historical time. However, in other examples of this TYPE when one, two and three generations of rulers are mentioned we noticed that the length of historical time gradually increased. This tendency can easily be explained, because the family had just risen to political prominence and it, therefore, could only remember the names of those members under whom it began to assume new socio-political identity, and may have 'telescoped' the names of other insignificant members of the family. Therefore, in this TYPE, we observed that the time-cycles involved in the narration of generations are short. On the other hand, from the two different patterns observed in TYPE II, we noted that the historical time is extended to as many as thirty generations. This is crucial, as this establishes a linearity of the historiographical tradition within a certain chronological framework. Further, this augmentation in the duration of time cycles through the narration of lengthy genealogies, we argue, was to firmly establish the family in its historical context and thus, seek political validation for their power. Though, discrepancies were found in such a narration, these however, came to be widely acknowledged as crucial for recognition in socio-political terms.

The trend of lengthening the historical genealogy continued into TYPE III genealogies of Phase 2. However, the historical time now became more comprehensive as the Eastern and the Western Chajukyan family traditions further extended their historical genealogy by adding the names of kings

belonging to their parent branch, namely, the Badami Chajukyas. Thus, reckoning of linear time through fabricating lengthy historical genealogies in this TYPE not only was elaborate, but also proved to be an exercise in itself in constructing time in linearity.¹¹¹

In total contrast to the above TYPES of genealogies, in TYPE IV we noted a complete absence of historical genealogy. In this regard, we argue that the absence may not be explained in terms of a lack of sense of time. But, on the other hand, it reflected the ruling elite's concerns for locating themselves in more abstract and real conceptions of time than by reckoning time through inventing the historical past. One reason for this change or absence in the descriptions of genealogical traditions in TYPE IV may be because most of the economic grants in these inscriptions did not involve the main ruling elite as a donor. Instead, it *referred* to the local chiefs and other dominant social groups of the area as donors of various grants. This meant that subordinate chiefs and local rulers were both the *de jure* and *de facto* rulers. Hence, we noticed that some inscriptions were actually referring to the genealogies of local chiefs, whereas that of the main ruling elite was always only briefly mentioned merely establishing their *affiliation to the main ruling family*, namely the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani. This tendency is noticed both in some TYPE III *genealogies* and those of TYPE IV of Phase 2, thus reflecting an important change in the socio-political conditions. In fact, in the genealogies pertaining to the local chiefs and other dominant social groups of this Phase, we noted that these resembled those we had as categorized as TYPE I and II of the main Chalukyan ruling families in Phase 1. Therefore, as in the case with most examples of this TYPE the historical time appears to be short at the beginning of the rise of these families to political prominence. However, it is with the *growing* concern to stabilize and consolidate their position and gain a new identity noting genealogical connections and also fabricating lengthy genealogies becomes rampant.

This brings us to the second method analysis of time reckoning that we noted in our descriptions of historical genealogies, with reference to contemporary time recorded in terms of eras and regnal years of the king. It is pertinent to mention here that the system of eras was originally part of the

larger concerns to facilitate calculations in astronomy.¹¹² The earliest of the eras mentioned in the sources of early India are the *Kfta* era of 58 BC, also known as Majava era and later, as Vikrama era. This has been claimed to be a marker of a major historical event. A few other commonly used eras were the Saka era (78 AD), the Kalachuri Cedi era (247-248 AD), the Gupta era (319-320 AD) and so on.¹¹³ These eras were named after a particular ruling dynasty's accession such as the Gupta era and after a status symbol added the name of a reign such as the Chajukya-Vikrama era. The introduction of eras helped in precise dating and, in addition helped to indicate the separation of cosmological time from actual historical time. According to Romila Thapar, the use of era was borrowed from the parallel tradition of Buddhism. The Buddhists calculated the time keeping in mind the major events of history in terms of the number of years from the *Mahaparinirvana* or, the passing away of Buddha.¹¹⁴ Owing to the efficacy of the Saka era in astronomical calculations, this counting gained currency and came to be prevalent as a standard reckoning, acknowledged by men of learning and recognized by astronomers.¹¹⁵

In the context of our study, we have noted that in TYPE I genealogies of Phase 1, the adoption of the Saka era was used marginally only in some inscriptions from the Western Deccan. P. B. Desai notes that it were the Chajukyias of Badami who first accepted the Saka era as a method to record linear time in their documents. This, he postulates, was due to their inclination towards Jainism.¹¹⁶ The use of Saka era in TYPE II genealogies was found to be more prolific than in TYPE I. This is found largely in the records pertaining to the Western Deccan. One could suggest that this was so because of its growing importance in the computation of dated time. Apart from the mention of the Saka era, we also found in two instances in the TYPE II genealogies that have a reference to the Kaliyuga. Reference to the Kaliyuga is significant because, it can be viewed as a pointer or turning point to historical change, particularly as reflected in the *Purana* notion of history.¹¹⁷ On the other hand, it could also have tied to indicate a decline of moral stature in society.¹¹⁸ However, we cannot arrive at the same deductions with regard to its mention in the inscriptions of the present study. Its rare mention found only in two examples of TYPE II, was probably to claim greater antiquity, because in the popular

belief,¹¹⁹ the beginning of the Kaliyuga marked the end of the Great Bharata War, which was dated to year 3102 BC.¹²⁰ In this example, Kaliyuga was simultaneously mentioned along Saka era.¹²¹ This suggests that a peculiar cyclic and linear way of looking at the past both remembered and recorded co-existed.

On the other hand, in the records of second pattern of TYPE II genealogies in our descriptions, it is found that there was no mention to eras. Instead, we noted that these records evinced a scrupulous method of recording the reign period of each king. This practice was prolifically found in the sub-region of the Eastern Deccan and suggests that they adopted a different pattern of reckoning linear time. These variations noted in Phase 1 clearly indicate that reckoning of contemporary or dated time was not uniform for all the dynastic traditions of the Chalukyan families but manifested sub-regional variations. It also reflects that during the formative stages of each dynasty's rise to power, a unilinear way of recording events and reigns are not fructified.

Consciousness to adopt the Saka era for computation of precise dates appears to have caught up in the Eastern Deccan, only from Phase 2 onwards. This is evident from its use in the majority of inscriptions belonging to TYPE III genealogies. This indicates the concern of the ruling elite to record dated time so as to provide certain fixity to the record, as by now they had become more elaborate. The suzerainty of the kings had also been more effectively established. For the same period and TYPE of genealogy, on the other hand, in the records of the Western Deccan, apart from the use of the Saka era, we also noted the introduction of a new era named after the king. These two methods of reckoning were noticed in both TYPES III and IV genealogies. The use of the *Chalukya Vikrama* Era and other eras, such as *Jagadekamalla* era, *Bhulokamalla* era, etc., in these examples, suggests to us the conscious attempts on the part of the ruling elite during this phase, to reckon linear time by associating their personal names to the era. These attempts not only indicates to the way the political authority of the king has been asserted, but also had great implications for remembering of posterity the greatness of the king and his concern to have a permanent place in history. Thus, it not only

came to be used as a status symbol as postulated by Romila Thapar¹²² but also enhanced the importance of linear time in this sense, so that it came to be largely used as a mechanism through which the king attempted to seek a special identity. However, it may be further, noted from our examples that such attempts did not always fructify particularly with weak kings, since the eras named after them did not even survive till the end of the dynasty. In contrast, the reference to the Jupiter's 60 years-cycle that was also more profusely used in TYPES III and IV genealogies, indicates an attempt to introduce the cyclic notion of time that now gets integrated within the linear reckoning of time through the prolific use of eras. In other words, astronomical methods of measuring time were effectively used by ruling elites to both link with the past, as well as to assert their authority and identity in the present.

Thus, it can be said that the introduction of linear time through the use of historical eras, regnal years and *sarpvatsaras*, over time, located kings in a comparatively more accurate way particularly, with linear time taking a center stage in the records of belonging to Phase 2. Thus, the introduction of eras heralded a major change in time reckoning, which was more realistic kind, and its constant use located kings and dynasties more firmly in time.¹²³ It goes without saying that this type of time reckoning introduced precision in the documentation of various details intended and thus concomitantly perceptions of the past were clearly rooted in specific time. A major impact of this was that it rendered the authority of the state¹²⁴ a legitimacy to control how they defined their past and their identity, in order to effectively assert political supremacy in the present.

Historical time becomes important to claim social identity and also to legitimize one's political status.¹²⁵ Positioned along with the eras and regnal years, this time articulated in inscriptions ensured an authoritative place for the kings in future and thus, definitely show their concern to be remembered as part of the checkered history of their times. Hence, we noticed that in all TYPES of genealogies, the ruling elites used different methods of time reckoning that was popular in their specific location of rule to write about their past, so that this would confer on them a dominant social identity and thus, ease the process for carving an over-arching state.¹²⁶ In this process of writing history of their family, the ruling elites often tried to be selective in choosing their kinship

relations with members from within the family and/or across families. In this regard, we have noted that in the examples of TYPE I and II belonging to the Badami Chajukyan family, except for the Mahakuta pillar inscription of Mangalesa and the Aihole inscription of Pulakesi II, there is an omission of names of Jayasimha and Ranaraga, who were supposed to be the earliest members of the family. Instead, in all these examples the historical genealogy begins with Pulakesi I, under whom an independent Chajukyan kingdom was founded. This clearly suggests that the later kings in order to enhance their past glory consciously avoided the names of insignificant members of the family. This would also explain why we do not find even the name of Mangalesa in later inscriptions from the time of Pulakesi II.

The other Chajukyan families, apparently claimed to have originated from the same stock, namely the Badami Chajukyan family, but spread in different spatio-temporal contexts, also attempted to emphasize on their inheritance of the past from their parent branch. Thus, it was found that though the Eastern Chajukyans were instated as independent rulers of Vengi, they nonetheless, continued to mention the names of the Badami Chajukyan kings, starting from Pulakesi I to Pulakesi II. On the one hand, this association with their parent branch, who already had acquired pan-regional identity, helped the new ruling elites in an alien land to enhance their claims for legitimization for their political authority. On the other hand, it also indicates to their concern for a great past for the sake of a separate identity with pan-regional linkages. However, interestingly, from the reign of Visnuvardhana II up to the reign of Vijayaditya II, i.e., roughly between 673 AD to 844 AD, this practice of tracing genealogical connections with the parent branch was stopped. Probably, this indicates an urge of the kings during this time, to create a separate identity for themselves, by re-defining their historical past that has greater local recognition than by establishing pan-regional linkages. However, interestingly this was noticed only for a temporary period, as the biological linkages with the parent branch were renewed again from the time of Gunaga Vijayaditya III, i.e., from 845 AD onwards. This clearly indicates that connections with the parent branch had greater implications for claims to a larger Chajukyan identity, as this would enable the kings to also retrieve the mythological or legendary past of the same. This is even more apparent in the inscriptions of

TYPE III genealogies of the Eastern Chajukyas, where we found that the early Chalukyan kings namely, Jayasimha and Ranaraga were mythologized in the records of the Eastern Chajukyas. In this regard, B. V. Krishna Rao had identified Visnuvardhana of the Eastern Chalukyan tradition with Jayasimha and Vijayaditya with Ranaraga, thus showing connection between the historical and mythical kings.¹²⁷ Apart from this the Eastern Chajukyan records in TYPE III, also refer to three generations of Badami Chalukyan kings starting from Pulakesi I to Pulakesi II during whose time a separate branch of the Chajukyan family was founded in the Eastern Deccan. From this, we understand that the greatness of a past glory of Badami Chajukyas was perhaps what was being harked back to, as this would enhance their claims for dominant social status.

In fact, in the context of TYPE III genealogies of the Western Chajukyas of Kalyani, the biological linkage with the Badami Chajukyan family is even more elaborate than that was found in the records of their counterparts, in the Eastern Deccan. The Western Chajukayn kings of Kalyani, who were far removed in time from the Badami Chajukyas, however, resurrected the family history of the latter from whom they claimed origins, by collating various historical records of their parent branch. This is evident from the incorporation of the names of Jayasimha, Ranaraga and Mangalesa that were found absent in most of the records of the Badami Chajukyan family. This attempt of linking up with their parent branch through long genealogical linkages, starting from Jayasimha to Kirtivarman II, particularly in the initial stages of their rise to political prominence is a clear indication to show the concern of this family to refer to the greatness and antiquity of the family history, as this becomes important to establish social identity and legitimization to their political authority. Interestingly, these family connections were made only with the Badami Chajukyas and not with the Vengi Chajukyas, who were their contemporaries. This pertinently manifests that writing 'history' during this period was not only selective, but it also becomes important as it allows 'identity' to be given great value than that available to other competing elites of subordinates. It also further, suggests that writing of the past in a

determinative way becomes significant when in fact actual relationship between them would have been none or very little.

Thus, from the above analysis of various TYPES of genealogies in Phases 1 and 2, we have examined that the pattern and the structure that had evolved in the narration of the genealogies of the ruling elite over a period of time revealed the co-existence of different categories of time. In this study of various TYPES under study, namely, TYPES I, II, III and IV, we have noticed that the genealogies necessarily comprised of three important components, namely, genealogies rooted in origin myths, access to puranic and epic genealogies and the historical genealogies. The origin myths or the mythical genealogies were usually those with which the genealogical narratives begin. They suggested recourse to memory of the distant past that was rooted in timelessness and hence could be viewed as cyclic in nature. In the context of TYPE I and II of Phase 1, though origin myths appeared invariably in almost all the examples, however, their reference is only loosely made thus, obfuscating a clear vision of cyclic time. But it is in TYPE III of Phase 2 that origin myths figure most fully. Similarly, TYPE III also stands out among other TYPES, in introducing for the first time semi-historical and puranic myths. They purported the revival of an embedded past that was rooted in the cyclic as well as the linear notions of time. The third category of genealogies that have been discussed were the historical genealogies. They manifested variations within and between each TYPE, except for TYPE IV, where it was found absent. But nonetheless, all these TYPES referred to the immediate past of the ruling elite and were narrated in a sequential order suggesting a linear notion of time. The first two categories draw on literary sources of information that the inscriptions were also drawn from. In this sense the more concrete form of the latter incorporated within itself the less historical and more fictional notions of time and events thereby enabling us to look at these two sources of information together, rather than in separate compartments. Thus the genealogical traditions of the Chalukyan families, manifested different conceptions of time involving the complex matrix and interjection of both the cyclic and linear notions of time. Further, the reckoning of time in this way may be seen as a process of establishing relations between cyclical phases of change and sequential series of events. This process of chronological reckoning served to establish both the order and duration of events and to link past time to present time and personal time to more abstract

temporal structures. This also reflected the concerns of the members of the Chajukyan families to possess strong sense of historical time as well as convictions about the importance of the past for the present. Although, we found an obvious difference in this model of causality when compared to the modern one there was indeed an emphasis in the construction of the historical narrative. In other words, the ruling elite in this study conceptualized the past in such a way so as to structure present social relations. However, the past and present time as found in our sources are not reckoned on a single homogenous scale. Rather, they are linked through in a relational system, which articulated repetitive cyclical conceptions of different durations with linear sequences of events. Changes in the way these genealogical traditions of different Chajukyan families emerged and then transformed further suggest to the articulation of a historical consciousness that the ruling elite wanted to be located in the ideological, social and political domains of their interaction. The immediate contemporary needs of political validation, particularly at times of political instability, were effectively sought to be taken care of by drawing on a past that made social linkages the key integrative principle.

Remembering the past through genealogies in our view provides only one dimension of understanding how the ruling elite perceived their past, in relation to time. In fact, the *prasasti* sections of inscriptions also contain other information such as military conquests, titles, marriage alliances, belief systems, sacrifices, cultural and civilizational symbols and so on. References to these claims that may be real or imaginary as part of the sections that described the genealogies also suggest ways of how the past was constructed and retrieved for purposes of the present. In the subsequent Chapters we shall take up a study of these various issues, beginning in the next one, with the major issue of how the ruling elite preferred to define their own past not simply with the way they defined time, but also through the memory of their conquests of space and attendant migrations of the families into new regions of control and social alliances.

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¹ Romila Thapar, *Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretations*, New Delhi, 1996a, p. 302

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. p. 311.

⁴ Romila Thapar, *Time as a Metaphor of History: Early India*, Delhi, 1997, p. 6. Nancy M. Farriss, while contradicting the views of Western scholars points out different notions of time prevailed in the Mayas of Yutacan and how this time became important in remembering the past. See for more details, 'Remembering the Future, Anticipating the Past: History, Time and Cosmology among the Maya of Yucatan', *CSSH*, No. 29, 1987, p. 566.

⁵ Romila Thapar, *Op. Cit.*, 1997, p. 6.

⁶ Romila Thapar, *Op. Cit.*, 1996a, p. 240.

⁷ Daud Ali, 'Royal Eulogy as World History: Rethinking Copperplate Inscription in Cola India', in Ronald Inden (ed.) *Querying the Medieval: The History of Practice in South Asia*, New York, 2000, p. 170.

⁸ Sheldon Pollock calls *Prasastis* as 'Public poetry' because of their eulogistic nature. See Sheldon Pollock, 'Literary History, Indian History, World History,' *Social Scientist*, Vol. 23, 1995, p. 115. Also see Kesavan Veluthat, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, New Delhi, 1993, p. 30.

⁹ Inscriptions contained three parts namely, (1) Preamble, (2) Notification and (3) Conclusion. For details see, D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965, p. 1; Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy*, New Delhi, 1998, pp.115-118; N. R. Vijaya, 'Evolution of *Prasasti* in the Inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukyas', *PAPHC*, Warangal, 1990, p. 76.

¹⁰ Genealogies in biographies or *Carita* literature preceded inscriptions. However, it is only from early medieval period onwards that the content of *Carita* was more focused on the individual king and his dynasty. As a result, the origin of the family and early rulers of the dynasty were also described in concomitant with the narratives found in the inscriptions. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. III, Part I, Delhi, 1977, pp. 103-109.

¹¹ Romila Thapar, *Op. Cit.*, 1997, p. 35.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastras*, Vol. II, Part I, Poona, 1974, p. 483. A Similar view was held by S. V. Ketkar. He affirmed that '*gotras*' did not exist in the Vedic age but only came to be formulated and stated in the Sutra times. Cited from G. S. Ghurye, *Gotra and Pravara, Two Brahmanical Institutions: Gotra and Charana*, Bombay 1972, p. 8.

"Romila Thapar, *From Lineage to State*, Delhi, 1996b, p. 45.

¹⁵ Suvira Jaiswal, 'Studies in Early Indian Social History', *IHR*, Vol. VI, 1979-80, pp. 57-58.

¹⁶ Romila Thapar, *Op. Cit.*, 1996b, p. 45. This statement can be further emphasized in the words of G. S. Ghurye. According to him "the 'gotra' of a Brahman had been considered so important as a component of the individual specification that no individual could be considered to be adequately specified unless his 'gotra' was mentioned". *Op. Cit.*, 1972, p. 173.

¹⁷ Suvira Jaiswal, *Op. Cit.*, 1979-80, pp. 57-58.

¹⁸ G. S. Ghurye, *Op. Cit.*, 1972, p. 184.

¹⁹ R. N. Nandi, 'Gotra and Social Mobility in the Deccan', *PIHC*, 32nd Session, Jabalpur, 1970, pp. 119.

²⁰ G. S. Ghurye, *Op. Cit.*, 1972, p. 179; Y. Kumaraswamy, 'Social Dynamics of the Brahmins of Telugu Country', *PAPHC*, Guntur, 1986, p. 59.

²¹ In this regard Sircar has pertinently noted that the epithet *Haritiputra* actually refers to a son of Hariti or the lady of Harita *gotra* and that it is a "family matronymic and not a personal one". See D. C. Sircar, *El*, Vol. VI, p. 406, f. n. 4.

²² Romila Thapar, *Op. Cit.*, 1996b, p. 45.

²³ Romila Thapar, 'Genealogy as a Source of Social History', in *AISH*, Delhi, 1996a, p. 290.

²⁴ V. S. Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India*, Jodhpur, 1997, p. 19.

²⁵ N. Venkataramanayya, *The Calukyas of V(L)emulavada*, 1953, pp. 92-98.

²⁶ These claims by the Vemulavada Chaiukyas has been interpreted by N. Venkataramanayya, as an attempt to trace the family roots to Solar race. *Ibid*.

²⁷ The historicity of Visnuvardhana-Vijayaditya has been doubted by many scholars and some even considered these rulers as mythical figures. However, B. V. Krishna Rao, has identified Visnuvardhana of the Eastern Chalukyan tradition with Jayasimha and Vijayaditya with Ranaraga, the earliest rulers of the Badami Chajukyan dynasty. See, B. V. Krishna Rao, *History of the Eastern Chaiukyas of Vengi*, Hyderabad, 1973, pp. 69-70. In this regard, therefore we understand that Jayasimha and Ranaraga are indeed historical persons but their connection with the Chaiukyas was made mythical.

²⁸ *El*, XV, 1919-20, p. 106.

²⁹ See Mangal Dev Shastri, (eds.), *The Vikramahkadevacarita (Mahakavya)*, Saraswati Bhavana Text Series, No. 82, Benaras, 1945.; Abstracts of this account are found in G. Buhler, 'Analysis of the First Seventeen Sargas of Bilhana's Vikramankakavya', *IA*, Vol. V, 1876, Rpt. 1985, p. 317; K. Laksmana Sastri (Telugu Version), *Vikramankadeva Caritamu*, Hyderabad, 1974, p. 18; Chandra Prabha, *Historical Mahakavyas in Sanskrit, (Eleventh- Fifteenth Century A. D.)*, New Delhi, 1976, pp. 49-50.

³⁰ *IA*, Vol. V, 1876, p. 15

³¹ P. B. Desai points out that the idea of *Satyasraya kula* adopted by the later Chajukyas of Kalyani may have originated from the epithet bore by Badami Cha/ukyan kings, which is stated to be the name of the first member of the family. See P. B. Desai, *A History of Karnataka (From Pre-History to Unification)*, Dharwar, 1970, p. 90.

³² Romila Thapar, Op. Cit., 1996b, p. 37

³³ P. Sarveswara Sharma, *The Kalasamuddesa of Bhatthari's Vakyapadiya*, Delhi, 1970, p. 28.

³⁴ Ibid. Also See Mircea Eliade's, 'Time and Eternity in Indian Thought', and Raimundo Panikkar, 'Time and History in the Tradition of India: Kala and Karma', both these articles are published in Hari Shankar Prasad (eds.) *Time in Indian Philosophy*, Delhi,

1992, pp. 27 & 99.

³⁵ Romila Thapar, Op. Cit., 1997, p. 30.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 27.

³⁷ *Vayupuranam*, (Ch: 26: 72-73), in G. P. Bhatt (ed.) *Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology*, Vol. 38, 1988, p. 679.

³⁸ John Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion*, 2000, pp. 123-124.

³⁹ John Brough considers that the older the *Gotra* is, the more time it will have had to sub-divide. See, 'The Early History of the Gotras', *JRAS*, 1946, Parts 1 & 2, p. 33.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 34.

⁴¹ John Brough, Op. Cit., 1946, Parts 1 & 2, p. 33.

⁴² For instance, D. R. Bhandarkar, while discussing how the *ksatriya va ma* got a *brahma-ksatra* identity, explains this phenomenon to a change in the occupation of a *brshmana* to a traditional occupation of a *ksatriya*, i.e., adopting rulership that leads to a permanent change in status. See D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population', *IA*, Vol. XI, Rpt. 1968, p. 26.

⁴³ D. C. Sircar *The Guhilas of Kiskindha*, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 3-11.

⁴⁴ S. Sankaranarayanan traces the origin of the historically known *brahma-ksatra* families to the line of Puru, since in the *Puranas*, both the *brahmanas* and the *ksatriyas* were mentioned to have born in this line. Thus, he argued that the progenitor of the Visnukundi branch of the Andhras was a descendant of Puru and therefore a *brahma-ksatra*. He further states that Visnukundins were the first to claim a *brahma-ksatra* origin. S. Sankaranarayanan, *The Vishnukundins and their Times*, Delhi, 1977, p. 25.

⁴⁵ Kesavan Veluthat, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, New Delhi, 1993, p. 31.

⁴⁶ B. N. S. Yadava, *Society and Culture in North India, (In the 12th Century A. D.)*, Allahabad, 1973, p. 35.

⁴⁷ B. D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Origin of Rajput: The Political, Economic and Social Processes in Early Medieval Rajasthan', *IHR*, Vol. III, No. 2, July, 1976, p. 69

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 69.

⁴⁹ Suvira Jaiswal, *Caste: Origin, Function and Dimensions of Change*, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 63-64.

⁵⁰ Krishna Murari, *The Calukyas of Kalyani*, Delhi, 1977, p. 6.

- ⁵¹ George M. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula- A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka*, Bombay, 1931, pp. 7-10.
- ⁵² D. R. Bhandarkar, Op. Cit., 1968, p. 26.
- ⁵³ Suvira Jaiswal, Op. Cit., 1998, p. 63.
- ⁵⁴ J. G. De Casparis, 'Inscriptions and South Asian Dynastic Traditions', in R. J. Moore (eds.) *Tradition and Politics in South Asia*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 119.
- ⁵⁵ *Vayupuranam*, (Ch: 26: 72-73), in G. P. Bhatt (ed.) *Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology*, Vol. 38, 1988, p. 679.
- ⁵⁶ John Brough Op. Cit., 1946, p. 33.
- "ibid. p. 34.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ B. D. Chattopadhyaya, Op. Cit., 1976, p. 61.
- ⁶⁰ Hermann Kulke, 'The Early and the Imperial Kingdom: A Processural Model of Integrative State Formation in Early Medieval India', in Hermann Kulke (ed.) *The State in India 1000-1700*, Delhi, 1995, pp. 237-38.
- ⁶¹ F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Delhi, 1972, p. 17 .
- "Ibid.
- ⁶³ Romila Thapar, Op. Cit., 1996a, p. 302.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid.
- ⁶⁵ *EL*, VI, 1900-01, pp. 348-361.
- ⁶⁶ This aspect of attributing divine characteristics to the king through the titles and epithets will be taken up for a detailed discussion by us in the subsequent Chapter on 'Conquests, Migrations and Spatial Control'.
- ⁶⁷ Ronald Inden, 'Ritual, Authority and Cyclic Time in Hindu Kingship', in J. F. Richards (eds.) *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, Wisconsin, 1981, pp. 34-35
- ⁶⁸ The Tantric and Yogic texts refer to the sun and the moon as symbolic to the two main nerve centres to the right and the left of the human body and their union is sought in certain yogic practices. The construction of lineages is suggestive of this pattern. See Thapar, Op. Cit., 1996a, p. 295.
- ⁷¹ B. D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Political Processes and Structures of Polity in Early Medieval India: Problems of Perspective', *Social Scientist*, Vol. 13, 1985, p. 8.
- ⁷² Ibid.
- ⁷³ B. D. Chattopadhyaya, Op. Cit., 1976, p. 69.

⁷⁴ Nandini Sinha, 'A Study of State and Cult: The Guhilas, Pasupatas and Ekalingai in Mewar, Seventh to Fifteenth Centuries A. D.', *Studies in History*, vol. 9, n.s. 2, 1993, pp. 172-174.

"Kesavan Veluthat, Op. Cit., 1993, p. 246.

⁷⁶ S. H. Vatsyayan, *A Sense of Time- (An Exploration of Time in Theory, Experience and Art)*, Delhi, 1981, p. 26.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 23.

⁷⁸ Romila Thapar, Op.Cit., 1996a, p. 259.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 261.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid. p. 260

⁸⁴ For example, N. Venkataramanayya, treats the mythical and legendary genealogies as false, and therefore recommends their total rejection. See his, *The Eastern Calukyas of Vengi*, Madras, 1950, p. 7. A similar view was expressed by R. C. Majumdar and others who treated the legendary accounts of the Chajukyas as vague and valueless. See, for instance, R. C. Majumdar, A.D. Pusalkar & A. K. Majumdar (ed.) *The History and Culture of the Indian People, The Classical Age*, Vol. III, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series, Bombay, 1988, p. 231. Writing almost much later Krishna Murari also expressed a similar opinion, when he emphatically rejects them as non-purposeful. Krishna Murari, *The Calukyas of Kalyani*, Delhi, 1977, p. 7.

⁸⁵ Romila Thapar, 'Dana and Dakṣiṇa as Forms of Exchange', in *AISH*, 1996a, pp. 105-106.

⁸⁶ Romila Thapar, Op. Cit., 1997, p. 33.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ *IA*, III, 1874, pp. 305-06.

⁸⁹ *El*, X, 1909-10, line 23, p. 105.

⁹⁰ *IA*, XIX, 1890, pp. 303-311.

⁹¹ *El*, VI, VI, 1900-01, pp. 1-12.

⁹² N. Venkataramanayya, Op. Cit., 1950, p. 15.

⁹³ *IA*, VIII, 1879, verse IV b, p. 27.

⁹⁴ *El*, VI, 1900-1901, pp. 1-12.

⁹⁵ N. Venkataramanayya, Op. Cit., 1953, pp. 82-92.

⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 92.

⁹⁷ *JAHS*, V, 1930, pp. 101-116.

⁹⁸ Parent branch, in the context of our study is referred to that branch from whom the other Chalukyan families claim to have emerged.

⁹⁹ *JAHS*, V, 1930, pp. 33-49.

¹⁰⁰ *IA*, XVI, 1887, pp. 15-24.

¹⁰¹ Krishna Murari, *Op. Cit.*, 1977, p. 72.

¹⁰² V. S. Pathak, *Op. Cit.*, 1997, p. 85.

¹⁰³ *El*, XV, 1919-20, pp. 348-364.

¹⁰⁴ *IA*, V, 1876, pp. 15-19.

¹⁰⁵ *IA*, XIV, 1885, pp. 14-26.

¹⁰⁶ *El*, XV, 1919-20, pp. 105-108.

¹⁰⁷ K. Suryanarayana, *IMCDAP*, 1993, p. 122.

¹⁰⁸ *CPIAPGM*, I, 1962, pp. 74-87.

¹⁰⁹ The duration of Jupiter's stay in a particular zodiacal sign is called Jupiter's year, which lasts for 361 days, 2 *ghatikas* or *dandas* and 5 *palas*. There is a name for each one of the 60 years of Jupiter's Cycle. For the names of these 60 years see D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, 1965, pp. 267-268.

¹¹⁰ Romila Thapar, *Op. Cit.*, 1997, p. 30.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 37.

¹¹² *Ibid.* p. 31.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* p. 29.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 33-34.

¹¹⁵ D. C. Sircar, *Op. Cit.*, 1965, pp. 261-62.

¹¹⁶ P. B. Desai, believes that the Jaina monks of the Gujarat-Kathiawar region, developed a penchant for this computation of time through Saka era and hence actively engaged themselves in the propagation of this reckoning, along with their religious doctrines. See *History of Karnataka*, 1970, pp. 84-86.

¹¹⁷ Romila Thapar, *Op. Cit.*, 1997, p. 29.

¹¹⁸ B. N. S. Yadava, 'The Accounts of the Kali Age and the Social Transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages', *IHR*, Vol. 5, 1978, p. 31.

¹¹⁹ Alexander Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, Varanasi, 1970, p. 7.

¹²⁰ On the basis of this inscription J. F. Fleet inferred that the beginning of Kali age in this record was marked by the anointing of Parikshit the grand-nephew of Yudhisthira as the ruler, that happened some 36 years after the Mahabharata war. Since this event was the final occurrence in the story of the Pandavas and the Kurus, therefore,

according to this scholar, it also marked the starting point of the Kaliyuga era. J. F. Fleet, 'The Kaliyuga Era of B. C. 3102', in Hari Shankar Prasad (eds.), *Op. Cit.*, 1992, pp. 381 & 391.

¹²¹ Cunningham had suggested that this combination as found in South India is often accompanied by luni-solar reckoning. See, Alexander Cunningham, *Op. Cit.*, 1970, p. 32.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 33.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 29.

¹²⁶ Romila Thapar, *Op. Cit.*, 1996a, p. 302.

¹²⁷ Reference to this was discussed in ft. no. 28.

CHART IA

GENEALOGIES OF CHALUKYAN FAMILIES- PHASE 1 (6TH -10TH CENTURIES AD)

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi
	NATURE OF GENEALOGY										
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTHICAL GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula	SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- GENEALOGY No. of Gen/ Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE			
1.	Badami Ins. Pulakeśi I (BCD)	Śaka varsheshu 465	---	---	---	---	Only King	---	I	EA, XXVII, 1947-48, pp. 4-9	
2.	Badami Ins. Maṅgaleśa (BCD)	Śaka- nṛpati Rājyābhish eka Saṃ.	PVR Saṃ. 12	MG	HP	CV	---	-do-	---	I	EA, III, 1874, pp. 305-6
3.	Mahakuta Ins. Maṅgaleśa (BCD)	---	PVR Saṃ. 5 Siddhārthe varshe	MG	HP	CAn	---	4 gen. *Jayasimha to Maṅgaleśa	---	I	EA, XIX, 1890, pp. 7-20
4.	Nerur Ins. Maṅgaleśa (BCD)	---	Chahatva Saṃ.	MG	HP	CV	---	2 gen. *Pul. I- KV. I	---	I	EA, VII, 1878, pp. 161-62.
5.	Haidarabad Ins. Pulakeśi II (BCD)	Śakanripati saṃ-535 34-elapsed	Pravardhamāna Rājyābhisheka Saṃ.	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. *Pul. I- Pul. II	---	I	EA, VI, 1877, pp.72-75
6.	Kandalgam Pls. Pulakeśi II (BCD)	Śaka varsheshu 536	Vijaya Rājya Saṃ.	MG	HP	CK	---	Only king	---	I	EA, XIV, 1885, pp. 330-31
7.	Satara Cp. Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana I (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CV	---	3 gen. *Pul. I-KVV I	Mentions Pul. I & KV. I	I	EA, XIX, 1890, pp. 303-11

*Consolidated Key for all abbreviations is given at the ends of charts.

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi
	NATURE OF GENEALOGY										
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTHICAL GENEALOGY Gotra/	Mtnc/	Kula	SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- GENEALOGY No. of Gen/	Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE
8.	Timmapuram Pls. Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana I (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CV	---	4 gen. *Rāṇarāga- KVV I	Mention Rāṇarāga, Pul. I, KV I. Also refers to Pul. II as brother of KVV. I	I	ET, IX, 1907, pp.317-19
9.	Lohaner Pls. of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	Śaka-ābda. 552,	---	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. *Pul. I- Pul. II	---	I	ET, XXVII, 1947- 48, pp. 37-41
10.	Koppuram Pls. of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	---	PVR. Sam, ākavimsati varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	2 gen. Pul. I & Pul. II	---	I	ET, XVIII, pp. 257-261
11.	Aihole ins. of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	Śaka Varshesu	---	---	---	CK C An	---	6 gen. * Jayasimha- Pul. II	---	II	ET, VI, 1900- 1901, pp. 1-12
12.	Yekkeri Pls. of Pulakeśi II, (BCD)	---	---	---	---	Nripa vaṃśe	---	Only king	---	I	ET, V, 1898-99, pp. 6-9
13.	Chiplun Pls. of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	---	---	MG	HP	C An	---	2 gen. *KV I	---	I	ET, III, 1894-95, pp. 50-53
14.	Lakshmeshwar Pls. of Pulakeśi II, (BCD)	---	---	---	---	---	---	Only King	---	I	SII, XX, No. 3, BK series, pp.2-3
15.	Pimpalner Cp. Of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	---	---	MG	HP	Viṣṇu Vaṃśa	---	Only King	---	I	IA, IX, 1880, pp.293-96
16.	Tummeyanuru Grant of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	---	---	MG	HP	CV	---	2 gen. *KV I	---	I	CPIAPGM, I, 1962, pp. 40-45
17.	Nerur Cp. Of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	---	---	MG	HP	CV	---	2 gen. *KV I	---	I	IA, VIII, 1879, pp.43-44

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi
NATURE OF GENEALOGY										
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING /DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula		SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- No. of Gen/ Link With PB	GENEALOGY	TYPE	REFERENCE
18.	Chipurupalle pls. of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana I (ECV)	---	---	---	---	CK	---	Only King.	Refers Pul. II as Brother	I IA, XX, 1891, pp. 15-18
19.	Mundakallu Ins. of Ādityavarman (BCD)	---	PVR Prathama Sam.	MG	HP	CK	---	4 gen. *Pul.I, drops Maṅgaleśa	---	I IA, XI, 1882, pp. 66-68
20.	Nerur Grant of Śrī Vijayabhaṭṭārika (BCD)	---	Pañchama Sam (5 th regnal YR)	MG	HP	CK	---	4 gen. * Pul. I	---	I IA, VII, 1878, pp.163-164
21.	Kochre Cp. Of Śrī Vijayabhaṭṭārika (BCD)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	4 gen. * Pul. I	---	I IA, VIII, 1879, pp. 44-47
22.	Three Grants of Jayasimha I (ECV) Grant A	---	18 th regnal year	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. * KV. I of BCD	Refers to KV. I & Pul. II of BCD	I EI, XXXI, 1955- 56, pp. 129-133
23.	Grant B	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. * KV. I of BCD	-do-	I Ibid. pp.133-36
24.	Grant C	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. * KV. I of BCD	-do-	I Ibid. pp. 136-38
25.	Amudalapadu Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	---	PVR. Pañchama Sam.	MG	HP	CK	---	4 gen. * Pul. I	---	I EI, XXXII, 1957, pp. 175-184
26.	Pedda-Maddali Pls. Jayasimha I (ECV)	---	PVR Sam. Ashṭādaśe	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. * KV. I of BCD	Refers to KV I of BCD	I IA, XIII, 1884, pp.137-139
27.	Talamanchi Pls. of Vikramāditya I, (BCD)	---	VR Shatva Sam.	MG	HP	CK	---	4 gen. * Pul I	---	I EI, IX, 1907- 1908, pp. 98-102

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	
NATURE OF GENEALOGY											
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula			SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- No. of Gen/	GENEALOGY Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE
28.	Racchamari Grant of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	---	PVR Saṃ.	MG	HP	CK	---	4 gen. * Pul I	---	I	EA, VI, 1994, pp.1-5
29.	Pulibumra Pls. of Jayasimha I (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen.* KV. I (BCD)	Refers to KV I of BCD	I	EI, IX, 1927-28, pp.254-258
30.	Uchchati Grant of Jayasimha I (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. * KV I (BCD)	Refers to KV I of BCD	I	EA, V, 1988, pp. 18-20; 24-25
31.	Pedda- Vegi Pls. of Jayasimha I (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. * KV I (BCD)	Refers to KV I of BCD	I	EI, XIX, 1927-28, pp.258-261
32.	Niduparu Grant of Jayasimha I (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. * KV I (BCD)	Refers to KV I of BCD	I	EI, XVIII, 1925- 26, pp.55-58
33.	Reyuru Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II (ECV)	---	PVR Dvitiya Saṃ	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. *KVV. I (ECV)	---	I	IA, VII, 1878, pp.185-191
34.	Koneki Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II (ECV)	---	PVR Saṃ Trimsati varshe	MG	HP	CAn	---	7 gen. 3 gen. BCD & 4 gen. ECV	Refers to Pul. I, KV. I & Pul. II of BCD	II	EI, XXXI, 1955- 56, pp. 74-80.
35.	Kurtakoti Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	Śaka Varsh- eshu 532	VR Saṃ. Shōḍasa varsha	MG	HP	CK	---	4 gen. *Pul. I	---	I	IA, VII, 1878, pp.217-220
36.	Haidarabad Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	4 gen. *Pul. I	---	I	IA, VII, 1878, pp.217-220
37.	Kolhapuram Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	---	VR, Saptādasa Saṃ.	MG	HP	CK	---	4 gen. *Pul. I	---	I	IA, VI, 1877, pp.75-78

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi
NATURE OF GENEALOGY										
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula	SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- No. of Gen/	GENEALOGY Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE	
38.	Kondanaguru Pls. of Indravarmān (ECV)	---	Tritiyam Saṃ.	MG HP CK	---	3 gen. *KV. I of BCD	Refers to KV. I of BCD	I	ET, XVIII, 1925- 26, pp.1-5	
39.	Pallivada Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II (ECV)	---	VR pañchame Saṃ.	MG HP CK	---	4 gen. * KV. I (BCD)	Refers to KV. I of BCD	I	IA, VII, 1878, pp.191-92	
40.	Pamidiṃmukkala Grant A of Viṣṇuvardhana II (ECV)	---	---	MG HP CK	---	2 gen. *Jayasimha I (ECV)	---	I	Śāṅkaram, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 71-76	
41.	Chendalur grant of Maṇḍi Yuvarāja (ECV)	---	PVR Saṃ	MG HP CK	---	4 gen. *KVV I (ECV)	---	I	ET, VIII, 1905-06, pp.236-241	
42.	Gadval Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	Śaka varshe 596	PVR Saṃ. Vimsati varttamāne	MG HP CK	---	4 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	I	ET, X, 1909-10, pp.100-106	
43.	Velnalli Grant of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	---	---	MG HP CK	---	4 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	I	CPIAPGM, I, 1962, pp. 46-53	
44.	Savnur Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	Śaka Varsheshu	PVR Saṃ. Vimsati varttamāne	MG HP CK	---	4 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	I	ET, XXVII, 1947- 48, pp.115-119	
45.	Pamidiṃmukkala Grant B of Viṣṇuvardhana II (ECV)	---	---	MG HP CK	---	2 gen. *Jayasimha I (ECV)	---	I	Śāṅkaram, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 71-76	
46.	Paniyal Grant of Vinayāditya (BCD)	Śaka varsha 604	---	MG HP CK	---	5 gen. *Pul I	---	II	CPIAPGM, I, 1962, pp.58-63	
47.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	Śaka Varsheshu 608	PVR Pañchama Saṃ.	MG HP CK	---	5 gen. *Pul I	---	II	SII, XX, 1988, pp.3-4	

	I	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi
	NATURE OF GENEALOGY										
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula			SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- No. of Gen/ Link With PB		TYPE	REFERENCE
48.	Jejuri Pls. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	Śaka Varsheshu 609 expire	VR Saṃ. Navame varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	5 gen. *Pul I	---	II	ET, XIX, pp. 62-65
49.	Togushode Cp. Of Vinayāditya (BCD)	Śaka Varsheshu 611 expire	VR Saṃ. Daśame, Varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	5 gen. *Pul I	---	II	IA, VI, 1877, pp. 85-88
50.	Poona pls. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	Śaka Varsheshu 612 expire	VR Saṃ. Daśame, varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	5 gen. *Pul I	---	II	ET, XXV, 1939, pp.289-291
51.	Sorab Pls. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	Śaka Varsheshu 614	VR Saṃ. ākādaśa varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	4 gen. *Pul I (omits Pul II)	---	I	IA, XIX, 1890, pp.146-152
52.	Dayyaminne Pls. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	Śaka Varsheshu 614	VR Saṃ. ākādaśe varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	5 gen. *Pul I	---	II	ET, XXII, 1936, pp24-29
53.	Musuniparu Pls. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	Śaka Varsheshu 614	PVR. Saṃ. Dvādaśa varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	5 gen. *Pul I	---	II	IA, VI, 1877, pp. 88-91
54.	Kirukagamasi Grant of Vinayāditya (BCD)	Śaka Varsheshu 616	VR Saṃ. Chaturdaśe varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	5 gen. *Pul I	---	II	IA, VII, 1878, pp.300-303
55.	Mayalur Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	Śaka varshē 622	VR Saṃ. Chaturthe varttamāne.	MG	HP	CK	---	6 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	II	ET, XXXIII, 1954-60, pp.311-314

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi
	NATURE OF GENEALOGY										
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtn/ Kula			SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- No. of Gen/	GENEALOGY Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE
56.	Nerur Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	Śaka varshe 622	VR Saṃ. Chaturthe varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	6 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	II	IA, 1880, pp.125-130
57.	Rayagad Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	Śaka varshe 625	VR Saṃ. Ashṭame varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	6 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	II	EI, X, 1909-10, pp. 14-17
58.	Nerur Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	Śaka varshe 627	VR Saṃ. Daśame varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	6 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	II	IA, IX, 1880, pp. 130-132
59.	Shiggaon Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	Śaka varshe 630	VR Saṃ. Ēkādaśe varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	6 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	II	EI, XXXII, 1957, pp.317-324
60.	Copper Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	Śaka Varsha. 632	VR Saṃ. Chaturdaśe varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	6 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	II	EI, XXVI, 1941-42, pp. 322-36
61.	Alampur Ins. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	Śaka varsha 635	VR. Saṃ. Ashṭadase varttamāne.	MG	HP	CK	---	6 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	II	EI, XXXV, 1963, pp. 121-123. CTD, IV, 1973, pp.3-4
62.	Penukaparu Grant of Jayasīṃha II (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. * Viṣṇuvardhan a II (ECV)	---	I	EI, XVIII, 1925, pp. 313-316
63.	Chendara Grant of Jayasīṃha II (ECV)	---	PVR Saṃ. Tritiya	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. * Viṣṇuvardhan a II (ECV)	---	I	EA, V, 1988, pp.20-21, 25-27

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi
NATURE OF GENEALOGY										
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula			SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- GENEALOGY No. of Gen/ Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE
64.	Lakshmeshwar Ins of Vijayāditya (BCD)	Śaka Varsha 645	---	MG	HP	CK	---	6 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	II <i>SII</i> , XX, BK Series, 1988, pp. 4-5
65.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	Śaka Varsha 651	---	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	---	II <i>Ibid.</i> pp. 6-7
66.	A Grant of Vijayāditya BCD)	Śaka Varsha 653	VR Saṃ. Shaṭṣe varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	---	II <i>EI</i> , XXV, 1939, pp.21-24
67.	Ipur Plates of Viṣṇuvardhana III (ECV)	---	PVR Saṃ. Vimśati Trivarshe.	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. * Viṣṇuvardhan a II (ECV)	---	II <i>EI</i> , XVIII, 1925, pp.58-60
68.	Musinikonda Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana III (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	---	II <i>JAHS</i> , XVI, 1945, pp.48-49
69.	Nerur Pls. Vijayāditya & Vikramāditya II (BCD)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	6 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	II <i>JA</i> , IX, 1880, pp.133-135
70.	Bondada Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana III(ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	2 gen. * Maṅgi Yuva- rāja (ECV)	---	I <i>EA</i> , VI, 1994, pp.13-17
71.	Kondakariplola Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana III (ECV)	---	PVR Saṃ. Pañcha varshe	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. * Viṣṇuvardhan a II (ECV)	---	I <i>EA</i> , V, 1988, pp.21-23; 27-29
72.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vikramāditya II (BCD)	Śaka varsha 656	---	MG	HP	CK	---	7 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	II <i>SII</i> , XX, BK Series 1988, pp. 7-8

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi
	NATURE OF GENEALOGY										
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula			SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- GENEALOGY No. of Gen/ Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE	
73.	Narwan Pls. of Vikramāditya II (BCD)	Śaka varsha 664	---	MG	HP	CK	---	7 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	II	<i>EI</i> , XXVII, 1947-48, pp.125-131
74.	Kendur Pls. of Kīrtivarman II (BCD)	Śaka Varsha 672	VR Saṃ. Shashīhe varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	8 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	II	<i>EI</i> , IX, 1907-08, pp. 200-206
75.	Pattadakal Ins. of Kīrtivarman II (BCD)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. *Vijayāditya (BCD)	---	I	<i>EI</i> , III, 1894-95, pp.1-7
76.	Vakkaleri Pls. of Kīrtivarman II (BCD)	Śaka varsha 680	PVR Saṃ. Ēkādaśa Varttamāne	MG	HP	CK	---	8 gen. *Pul I (BCD)	---	II	<i>JA</i> , VIII, 1879, pp.23-29
77.	Alluvalu/ Zulakallu Grant of Vijayāditya I (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. *Maṅgi yuvārāja	---	I	<i>EA</i> , III, 1974, pp.1-5; <i>EI</i> , XXXVI, 1965, pp. 300-02
78.	Tenali Pls. of Vijayāditya I (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	---	I	<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 297-300
79.	Two New Cp. of Vijayāditya I (ECV) CP Grant A	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	---	I	<i>JAHS</i> , V, 1930, pp.51-56
80.	CP Grant B	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	---	I	<i>Ibid.</i>
81.	Ederu Pls of Vijayāditya II (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen. *Vijayāditya I (ECV)	---	I	<i>EI</i> , V, 1898-99, pp. 118-142

NATURE OF GENEALOGY										
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula	SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- GENEALOGY No. of Gen/ Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE		
82.	Varppomgu Pls. of Vijayāditya II (ECV)	---	---	MG HP CK	---	3 gen. *Vijayāditya I (ECV)	I	EA, III, 1974, pp. 5-7		
83.	Korraparru Grant of Vijayāditya II (ECV)	---	---	MG HP CK	---	-do-	I	SII, I, 1892, (Rpt. 1987) pp. 31-36		
84.	Permajili Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana V (ECV)	---	---	MG HP CK	---	3 gen. * Viṣṇuvardhan a III (ECV)	I	ARE, 1911-14, pp.85-86		
85.	Ahadanakaram Pls. of Viṣṇuvardhana V (ECV)	---	---	MG HP CK	---	-do-	I	IA, XIII, 1884, pp. 185-187		
86.	Masulipatnam Pls. of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III (ECV)	---	---	MG HP CK	---	-do-	I	EI, V, 1898-99, pp. 122-126		
87.	Sataluru CP. Of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III (ECV)	---	---	MG HP CK	---	13 gen. *KVV-I (ECV)	II	JAHS, V, 1930, pp. 101-116		
88.	Chimbuluru Grant of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III (ECV)	---	---	MG HP CK	---	-do-	II	EA, III, 1974, pp. 6-15		
89.	Kakumranu Grant of Chālukya Bhīma I (ECV)	---	---	MG HP CK	---	15 gen. *KVV-I (ECV)	II	EA, III, 1974, pp. 162-168		
90.	Moga Grant of Chālukya Bhīma I (ECV)	---	---	MG HP CK	---	16 gen. *KVV-I (ECV)	II	EA, III, 1974, pp. 28-42		

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	
NATURE OF GENEALOGY											
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula			SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- GENEALOGY No. of Gen/ Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE	
91.	Telugu Academy Pls. of Chālūkyā Bhīma I (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	16 gen. *KVV-I (ECV)	-do-	II	JBORS, VIII, 1922, pp.83-98
92.	Bezvada Plates of Chālūkyā Bhīma I (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	-do-	II	EI, V, 1898-99, pp.127-131
93.	Masulipatnam Pls. of Amma I (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	17 gen. *KVV-I (ECV)	-do-	II	Ibid. pp. 131-134
94.	Ederu Pls. of Amma I (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	-do-	II	IA, II, 1873, pp. 175-76; IA, XIII, 1884, pp.51-52
95.	Chevuru Pls. of Amma I (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	3 gen *GV III (ECV)	---	I	EI, XXVII, 1947, pp. 41-47
96.	Velambarru Grant of Amma I (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	17 gen. *KVV-I (ECV)	Refers to Pul. II of BCD as brother of KVV I	II	EA, III, 1974, pp. 43-46.
97.	Masulipatam Pls. of Chālūkyā Bhīma II (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	19 gen. *KVV-I (ECV)	-do-	II	EI,V, 1898-99, pp.134-139
98.	Paganavaram Pls. of Chālūkyā Bhīma II (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	-do-	II	IA, XIII, 1884, pp.213-215
99.	Varanaendi Ins. of Chālūkyā Bhīma II (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	-do-	II	Bhārati, 1965, pp.24-38
100.	Kollipara Pls. of Arikeśari I (CV)	---	---	---	---	CV	---	7 gen. 2gen = BCD, 5gen = VC	Mentions Rana- vikrama (Pul. I) & Pul. II of BCD	II	N. Venkataraman- ayya, CV, 1953, pp. 73-81.

I	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	
NATURE OF GENEALOGY											
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtn/ Kula			SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- No. of Gen/	GENEALOGY Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE
101.	Maliyampudi Grant of Amma II (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	22 gen. *KVV-I (ECV)	Refers to Pul. II of BCD as brother of KVV I	II	El, IX, 1907-08, pp. 47-56
102.	Vemulavada Pls. of Arikeṣari II (CV)	---	---	---	---	CV	---	7 gen. *Yuddhamalla I (Founder)	---	II	N.Venkataramana yya, CV, pp.82-92
103.	Vemulavada Pls. of Arikeṣari II (CV)	Śaka Varsha 867	Parābhava Sam.	---	---	CV	---	-do-	---	II	IAP, Karimnagar Dt., A. R. No. 46. 1969, pp.1-5
104.	Kaluchumbarru Grant of Amma II (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	22 gen. *KVV-I (ECV)	Refers to Pul. II of BCD as brother of KVV I	II	El, VII, 1902-03, pp.178-192
105.	Padamkaluru Grant of Amma II (ECV)	Śaka varsha 867	---	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	-do-	II	IA, VII, 1878, pp.15-19
106.	Yelavarru Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	-do-	II	IA, XII, 1883, pp.91-95
107.	Masulipatam Grant of Amma II (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	-do-	II	IA, VIII, 1879, pp. 73-76, El, V, 1898, pp.139-142
108.	Gundugolanu Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	-do-	II	IA, XIII, 1884, pp.248-250
109.	A Newly Discovered Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	-do-	II	JAHRS, XX, 1949- 50, pp.195-210.
110.	Pamulavaka Cp. of Amma II (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	---	-do-	-do-	II	JAHRS, II, 1928, pp. 242-249

NATURE OF GENEALOGY												
				v			viii		ix		xi	
				vi			vii		x			
				iv			v		vi			
				iii			iv		v			
				ii			iii		iv			
				i			ii		iii			

CHART IB

GENEALOGIES OF CHALUKYAN FAMILIES- PHASE 2 (11TH -12TH CENTURIES AD)

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	
NATURE OF GENEALOGY											
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula		SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- GENEALOGY No. of Gen/ Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE		
1.	Yali Sirur Ins. of Satyāśraya (KC)	Śaka varsha 926	Krōdhin Saṃ	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC.	---	IV	<i>SII</i> , XI, 1986, BK Series, pp. 36-38.
2.	Lakkundi Grant of Satyāśraya (KC)	Śaka varsha 929	Plavaṅga Saṃ	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King LC= 1gen.	---	IV	<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 39-43.
3.	Hottur Ins. of Satyāśraya (KC)	Śaka Varsha. 929	Plavaṅga Saṃ	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVI, 1921-22, pp.73-75
4.	Kauthem Pls. of Vikramāditya V (KC)	Śaka-nīpa kāliāta Saṃ. 930 (current)	Saumya Saṃ	MG	HP	CK	* Viṣṇuvardhana of Ayodhya. Refers to 59 kings but do not give their names	21 gen. 15 15gen= BCD 6gen= KC	---	III	<i>IA</i> , XVI, 1887, pp.15-24
5.	Sudi Ins. of Vikramāditya V (KC)	Śaka varsha. 932	Sādhāraṇa Saṃ	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XV, 1919- 1920, pp.75-77
6.	Alur Ins. of Vikramāditya V (KC)	Śakabhūpāla- kāliātikramta. 933	Sādhāraṇa Saṃ	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King LC= 1gen	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVI, 1921-22, pp. 75-77
7.	Ranastipundi Pls. of Vimalāditya (ECV)	Śaka Varshe 933,	---	MG	HP	CK	*Viṣṇu, Brahma to Udayāna. Refers to Vijayāditya of Ayodhya	25 gen. 3 gen.= BCD, 22 gen.= ECV	Refers to Pul. I, KV. I & Pul. II of BCD	III	<i>EI</i> , VI, 1900-01, pp. 348-361

*Consolidated Key for abbreviations is given at the end of charts.

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi
NATURE OF GENEALOGY											
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula		SEMI- HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- No. of Gen/	GENEALOGY Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE	
8.	Chilkur Ins. of Vikramāditya V (KC)	Śaka-bhūpāla- kāliātīkramta, 934	Pāridhāvi Saṃ	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only king + LC	---	IV	EA, II, pp. 50-55
9.	Kotavumachgi Ins. of Vikramāditya V (KC)	Śaka Varsha 934,	Pāridhāvi Saṃ	---	---	SK, CA	----	-do-	---	IV	EI, XX, 1929-30, pp. 64-70
10.	Balagamve Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	Śaka varsha 941	Siddhārtha Saṃ	---	---	SK, CA. Mention origin of SK from Satyāśray a	* Refers to 59 kings of Ayodhya but do not give their names	4 gen. (KC)	---	III	IA, V, 1876, pp. 15-18
11.	Korumelli Plates of Rājarāja I (ECV)	Śaka vatsareshu 944 (given in chronogram)	---	MG	HP	CK	*Viṣṇu, Brahma to Udayāna. Refers to Vijayāditya of Ayodhya	26 gen. 3gen. =BCD, 23gen. = ECV	Refers to Pul. I, KV I, & Pul. II of BCD	III	IA, XIV, 1885, pp.48-55
12.	Belur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	Śaka-nṛipa- kāliātita Saṃ. 944	Dum̐dubhi Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV	IA, XVIII, 1889, pp. 270- 75.
13.	Ron Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	Śaka-varsha 944	Dum̐dubhi Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King LC= 1 gen	---	IV	EI, XIX, 1928, pp.222-226
14.	Miraj Pls. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	Śaka-nṛipa- kāliātita saṃ. 946,	Raktākshi Saṃ.	MG	HP	CK	*Viṣṇuvardhana of Ayodhya +59 kings (without names)	23 gen. 15gen= BCD, 8gen= KC	* Jayasīṃha to KV II of BCD	III	EI, XII, 1913-14, pp. 303-315
15.	Marol Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	Śaka varsha 946	Raktākshi Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV	SII, XI, BK Series, 1986, pp. 50-51

I	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi
NATURE OF GENEALOGY										
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula		SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- No. of Gen/	GENEALOGY Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE
16.	Heggur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	Śaka varsha 946	Raktākshi Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV <i>Ibid.</i> pp. 51-52
17.	Kulenur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	Śaka-varisha 950	Vibhava Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	---	IV <i>EI</i> , XV, 1919-20, pp. 329-334
18.	Hosur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	Śaka-ṇṛīpa-kālātita 950	Vibhava Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	---	IV <i>SII</i> , XI, BK Series, 1986, pp. 55-57.
19.	Kalidindi Ins. of Rājarāja I (ECV)	Sakābda	---	MG	HP	CK	*Viṣṇu, Brahma to Udayāna. Refers to Vijayāditya of Ayodhya	26 gen. 3gen= BCD, 23gen= ECV	Refers to Pul. I, KV I, & Pul. II	III <i>EI</i> , XXIX, 1951-52, pp. 57-71
20.	Pamulavaka Ins. Vijayāditya VII (ECV)	Śaka 952(given in Chronogram)	---	MG	HP	CK	-do-	27 gen. 3gen= BCD, 24gen= ECV	-do-	III <i>JAHS</i> , II, 1928, pp. 277-289
21.	Saidapur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	Śaka-ṇṛīpa-kale 956	Bhāva Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV <i>EA</i> , VI, 1994, pp. 37-42.
22.	Gadag Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	Śaka Varsha 959	Īśvara Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King LC= 1 gen	---	IV <i>EI</i> , XIX, 1928-29, pp. 217-222
23.	Hottur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	Śaka-varisha 959	Īśvara Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV <i>EI</i> , XVI, 1921-22, pp.75-81
24.	Hulgur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	Śaka varsha 960	Bahudhānya Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	---	IV <i>Ibid.</i> pp. 332-337
25.	Sirur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	Śaka-ṇṛīpa-kālātita 962	Vikrama Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	---	IV <i>EI</i> , XV, 1919-20, pp. 334-336

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi
NATURE OF GENEALOGY										
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula	SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- No. of Gen/	GENEALOGY Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE	
26.	Mantur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	Śaka-Varsha 962	Vikrama Saṃ.	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	IV	IA, XIX, 1890, pp. 161-165	
27.	Huli Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka nṛpa-kālātita saṃ. 966	Tāraṇa Saṃ.	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King LC= 2 gen	IV	EI, XVIII, 1923, pp. 172-178	
28.	Mugad Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka Varsha 966	Pārthhiva Saṃ.	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	IV	SII, XI, BK Series, 1986, pp. 68-73	
29.	Kolur Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka varsha 967	Pārthhiva Saṃ.	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	IV	EI, XIX, 1924, pp.180-183	
30.	Kilaratti Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka varshad 968	Vyaya Saṃ.	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	IV	EI, XXXV, 1963, pp.37-39	
31.	Arasibidi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka Varsha 969	Sarvvajit Saṃ.	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	IV	EI, XVII, 1923, pp.121-123	
32.	Bagevadi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka Varsha 971	Virōdhi Saṃ.	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	IV	SII, XI, BK Series, 1986, pp.75-76	
33.	Sudi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka Varsha 973	Vikṛita Saṃ.	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King	IV	EI, XV, 1919-20, pp.77-80	
34.	Mallesvaram Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka Varsha 973	Khāra Saṃ.	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	IV	EI, XXXV, 1963, pp.253-260	
35.	Niralgai Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka-varsha 974	Nandana -Saṃ	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	IV	EI, XVI, 1922, pp. 66-68.	

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	
NATURE OF GENEALOGY											
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula			SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- GENEALOGY No. of Gen/ Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE	
36.	Nandampundi Ins. of Rājarāja I (ECV)	Śaka varsha (date given in Chronogram)	---	MG	HP	CK	Viṣṇu, Brahma to Udayāna, Vijayāditya	26 gen. 3gen= BCD, 23gen = ECV	Refers to Pul. I, KV I & Pul. II of BCD	III	ET, IV, 1896-97, pp.300-309
37.	Mulgund Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka varsha 975	Vijaya Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King LC= 1gen	---	IV	ET, XVI, 1920-21, pp. 52-57
38.	Manda Ins. of Rājarāja I (ECV)	Śaka varshesu	---	MG	HP	CK	*Viṣṇu, Brahma to Udayāna. Refers to Vijayāditya of Ayodhya	26 gen. 3gen= BCD, 23gen = ECV	Refers to Pul. I, KV I & Pul. II of BCD	III	N. Venkataramanayya, PC, 1969, pp. 439-446
39.	Kelavadi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka Varsha 975	Vijaya Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV	ET, IV, 1896-97, pp.259-262
40.	Sanigram Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka varsha 975	Vijaya Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	---	IV	IAP, Karimanagar Dt. Ins. No. 15, pp. 38-42.
41.	Sudi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka Varsha 976	Jaya Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King	---	IV	ET, XV, 1919-20, pp.80-83
42.	Honwad Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka Varsha 976	Jaya Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King LC= 1 gen	---	IV	IA, XIX, 1890, pp.268-275.
43.	Sudi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka-varsha 981	Vikāri Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King	---	IV	ET, XV, 1919-20, pp. 85-94
44.	Telugu Academy pls. of Śaktivarman II (ECV)	Śaka varsha 983 (Given in Chronogram)	---	MG	HP	CK	*Viṣṇu, Brahma to Udayāna. Refers to Vijayāditya of Ayodhya	26 gen. 3gen= BCD, 23gen = ECV	Refers to Pul. I, KV I & Pul. II of BCD	III	JAHS, V, 1930, pp. 33-49

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	
NATURE OF GENEALOGY											
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula		SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- No. of Gen/	GENEALOGY Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE	
45.	Marasanhalli Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka- varsham 988	Parābhava Sam.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King +LC	IV	<i>SII</i> , XX, BK Series, 1988, pp. 445-46.	
46.	Hottur Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Śaka-nṛīpa- kālātita Sam. 988	Parābhava Sam.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVI, 1920-21 pp. 81-88	
47.	Panchalingala Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	Śaka Varsha 990,	Kilaka Sam.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	IV	<i>EI</i> , XXXVI, 1965, pp. 139-145	
48.	Belgam Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	Śaka Varsha 991	Rākshasa Sam.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	IV	<i>IA</i> , I, 1872, pp. 141-142	
49.	Rugi Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	1. Śaka Varsha 991 2. Śaka Varsha 967	1. Kilaka Sam. 2. Pārthiva Sam	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	IV	<i>SII</i> , XX, BK Series, 1988, pp. 48-49.	
50.	Gawarwad Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	Śaka varsha 994	pāridhāvi Sam.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	IV	<i>EI</i> , XV, 1919-20, pp. 337-347	
51.	Bichapalli Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	Śaka varsha. 996	Ānanda Sam.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	IV	<i>EI</i> , XXXVI, 1965, pp. 69-74	
52.	Bijapur Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	Śaka varsha. 996	Ānanda Sam.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	IV	<i>IA</i> , X, 1881, pp. 126-131	
53.	Two New Cp. Of Vijayāditya VII (ECV) CP. No. 8	---	---	MG	HP	CK	*Viṣṇu, Brahma to Udayāna. Refers to Vijayāditya of Ayodhya	27gen. 3gen= BCD, 24gen = ECV	Refers to Pul. I, KV 1 & Pul. II of BCD	III	<i>JAHS</i> , IX, 1934, pp. 24-33
54.	CP. No. 9	---	---	MG	HP	CK	-do-	-do-	-do-	III	<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 33-35

I	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii			viii	ix	x	xi
NATURE OF GENEALOGY												
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/		Kula	SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- No. of Gen/	GENEALOGY Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE	
55.	Niralgi Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	Śakavarisa 996	Ananda Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King	---	IV	El, XVI, pp. 68-73.	
56.	Devageri Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	Śaka varsha 997	Rākshasa Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV	El, XIX, pp. 183-187	
57.	Kallasambi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV Saṃ. 1-2	Dumḍubhi Saṃ.	MG	HP	CK	*Viṣṇuvardhana of Ayodhya	26 gen. 15gen= BCD 11gen= KC	* Jayasimha & ends with KV II last king of BCD	III	CPIAPGM, I, 1962, pp. 74-87.	
58.	Hulgur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	Śaka-nṛīpa- kāḷātita Saṃ. 999	Piṅgaḷa Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV	El, XVI, 1921-22, pp. 330-332	
59.	Yewur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV varsha 2	Piṅgaḷa Saṃ.	MG	HP	CK	*Viṣṇuvardhana of Ayodhya	26 gen. 15gen= BCD 11gen= KC	*Jayasimha & ends with KV II last king of BCD	III	El, XII, pp.269-291, IA, VIII, 1879, pp.10-21	
60.	Chellur Grant of Vīrachōda (ECV)	---	---	MG	HP	CK	*Viṣṇu, Brahma to Udayāna. Refers to Vijayāditya of Ayodhya	28 gen. 3gen= BCD, 25gen = ECV	Refers to Pul. I, KV I & Pul. II of BCD	III	SII, I, pp. 51-62	
61.	Pithapuram Pls. of Vīrachōda (ECV)	Śaka 23 rd victorious year	---	MG	HP	CK	-do-	-do-	-do-	III	El, V, 1898-99, pp.70-96	
62.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	Vikram- ābda, 6	Dūrmata Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King LC= 1 gen	---	IV	El, XVI, 1921-22, pp.58-66	

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	
NATURE OF GENEALOGY											
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula			SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- No. of Gen/	GENEALOGY Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE
63.	Huli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV varshad 7	Dum̐dubhi Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King LC= 2 gen.	---	IV	EI, XVIII, pp.178-182
64.	Tidgundi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	Śrī Vikrama kāla Saṃ. 6 (elapsed)	Dum̐dubhi Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV	EI, III, 1894-95, pp.306-311, IA, I, 1872, pp. 80-84
65.	Sudi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV Varshad 9	Raktākshi Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	---	IV	EI, XV, 1919-20, pp. 100-103
66.	Teki Plates of Kulōṭṭunga Chōḍa Gaṇga I (ECV)	Śak-ābde	---	MG	HP	CK	*Viṣṇu, Brahma to Udayāna. Refers to Vijayāditya of Ayodhya	27 gen. 3gen= BCD, 24gen= ECV. Omits Vijayāditya VII, & Śaktivarman II	Refers to Pul. I, KV I & Pul. II of BCD	III	JAHRS, V, 1930, pp. 33-49
67.	Kolur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV varshad 10	Krōdhana Saṃ	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV	EI, XIX, pp. 189-191
68.	Sitalbadi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	Śaka-ṇṛīpa kājātita Saṃ 1008	Prabhava Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	---	IV	EI, III, 1894, pp. 304-306
69.	Alur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV varshad 16	Prajāpati Saṃ.	MG	HP	CK	*Vishṇuvardhana of Ayodhya	26 gen. 15gen= BCD, 11gen= KC	*Jayasimha & ends with KV II last king of BCD	III	IA, VIII, 1879, pp. 21-23
70.	Balagamve Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV Varshad 18	Śrīmukha Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV	IA, V, 1876, pp. 342-344
71.	Dombal Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV varshad 19	Yuva Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	---	IV	IA, X, 1881, pp. 185-190

	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi
	NATURE OF GENEALOGY										
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtncl/ Kula		SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- No. of Gen/ Link With PB	GENEALOGY		TYPE	REFERENCE
72.	Huli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	Śaka varsha 1019	Īśvara Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King LC= 2 gen	---	IV	ET, XVIII, pp. 182-189
73.	Gadag Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV Varshad 23	Bahudhānya Saṃ.	---	---	CV	*Brahma, Ātri. Mentions Chālukyas as belonging to Sōmavamśa	KC= 11gen	---	III	ET, XV, 1919-20, pp. 348-364
74.	Ganeshwadi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV Nṛipa kāle 24	Pramāthin Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV	ET, XXXVIII, 1970, pp. 289-304
75.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV Kālad 27	Chitrabhānu Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	---	IV	ET, XVI, 1921-22, pp. 31-35
76.	Huli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV kālad 29	Tāraṇa Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	---	IV	ET, XVIII, pp.189-196
77.	Bairanpalli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV Saṃ. 32	Sarvvadhāri Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King	---	IV	CITD, 1973, pp. 14-18.
78.	Yewur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV kālad	Pārthīva Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV	ET, XII, 1913-14, pp.329-331
79.	Huli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	Chhaka varsha 1029	Sarvvajit Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	-do-	---	IV	ET, XVIII, pp. 196-199
80.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV Saṃ. 32	Sarvvajit Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC=3gen LC= 1 gen	---	IV	ET, XVI, 1921-22, pp. 35-44
81.	Kardugari Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV Varshad 33	Sarvvadhāri Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV	IA, X, 1881, pp. 249-255

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	
NATURE OF GENEALOGY											
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtncl/	Kula	SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- No. of Gen/	GENEALOGY Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE	
82.	Yewur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV varshad 35	Vikṛita Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	IV	EI, XII, 1913-14, pp. 332-333	
83.	Sudi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV varshad 39	---	---	Mention s Harita s son of Puru- rāvas	CK	*Brahmā, Ātri, Budha, Pururāvas, Harita. Whose sons founded Chāḷukya race.	KC= 8gen LC= 9 gen (Bappura family)	III	EI, XV, 1919-20, pp. 105-108	
84.	Handariki Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV varshad 43	Viḷambi Saṃ	Mentions Māṇḍavya as son of Manu	Harita as son of Pañchaś iki Hariti	CK	Brahma, Manu, Māṇḍavya, Harita, Pañchaśiki Hariti, Viṣṇuvardhana	26 gen. 15gen= BCD, 8gen= KC, 3gen= LC	* Jayasimha & ends with KV II last king of BCD	III	APGAS, No. 9, 1982
85.	Devageri Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV Varshad 46	Plava Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	IV	EI, XIX, 1926, pp. 191-194.	
86.	Nilgunda Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	1.CV 12 2.CV 48	1. Prabhav a Saṃ. 2. Śōbhāk ṛit Saṃ	MG	HP	CK	*Viṣṇuvardhana of Ayodhya	26 gen. 15= BCD, 11 = KC	* Jayasimha & ends with KV II last king of BCD	III	EI, XII, 1913-14, pp. 142-155
87.	Gundlapalli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV kālamu 48	Śōbhākṛit Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	IV	EA, IV, 1975, pp. 91-92	

S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	NATURE OF GENEALOGY						TYPE	REFERENCE
				Myth Genealogy Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula							
88.	Terdal Ins. of Vikramāditya VI or (Permādirāya) (KC)	Śaka varsha 1045	Śōbhākṛit Saṃ.	Mentions Māṇḍavya as Son of Brahmā	Mentions Harita as son of Māṇḍavya	Mentions Chālūkyas as son of Pañchaśikha Harita	*Viṣṇu, Brahmā Māṇḍavya, Harita, Pañchaśikha Harita, Chālūkyas	KC= 4 gen LC= 2 gen	---	III	IA, XIV, 1885, pp.14-26
89.	Momigatti Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	CV varshad, 49	Krōdhin Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV	EI, XXVII, 1923, pp. 117-120
90.	Devageri Ins. of Someśvara III (KC)	Chālūkyas Bhūlōkamalla a Varshad	Ānanda Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King LC= 1 gen	---	IV	EI, XIX, pp. 183- 187.
91.	Chittur Plates of Kulōttunga Vīra Chōḍa (ECV)	Śak- ābdānam	---	MG	HP	CK	Sōma vaṃśa	ECV= 27 gen	Refers to Pul. II of BCD	III	IA, XIV, 1885, pp. 55-59
92.	Badami Ins. of Jagadekamalla II (KC)	Chālūkyas Jagadekamalla- Varshad 2	Siddhārthi Saṃ	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King	---	IV	IA, VI, 1877, pp.139-142
93.	Huli Ins. of Jagadekamalla II (KC)	Śaka varsha 1067	Krōdhana Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	KC= Only King + LC	---	IV	EI, XVIII, pp.172-178
94.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Taila III (KC)	Chālūkyas Trailōkyamalla adēvara varsha 2	Śrīmukha Saṃ.	---	---	SK, CA	---	LC= 1gen.	---	IV	SII, XX, BK Series, 1988, pp. 160-161.
95.	Krivvaka/ Kukunur Ins. of Kusumāditya (MC)	---	---	---	---	C An	Sōma vaṃśa ruled by 59 kings (Names not given)	6 gen.	---	III	EA, I, 1974, pp.39-49; Bhārati, Nov. 1979, pp. 32-39

i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi
NATURE OF GENEALOGY										
S.NO	INSCRIPTION/ KING/ DYNASTY	Era	DATE / Regnal YR	MYTH GENEALOGY Gotra/ Mtnc/ Kula			SEMI-HISTORIC GENEALOGY	HISTORIC- No. of Gen/ Link With PB	TYPE	REFERENCE
96.	Ganapavaram Ins. of Gōkarāja (NC)	Śaka Varshambulu 1096	---	MG	HP	CK	Sōmavaṃśa	Only king (Śrī Manmahāmañ ḍalēśvara)	III	K.Suryanarayana, IMCDAP, 1993, p.122
97.	Edarupalli re-issued grant of Viṣṇuvardhana (JC)	Śakābde (nidhi jaladhi vijayat chandrage	---	MG	HP	CK	*Viṣṇu, Brahma to Udayāna. Refers to Vijayāditya of Ayodhya	32 gen 26= ECV 6= JC	* KVV-I to Kulōṭṭunga Chōḍa Gaṇiga of ECV	<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 60-67
98.	Pithapuram Pillar Ins. of Mallapa Dēva II (JC)	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	-do-	<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 75-80

CONSOLIDATED KEY- CHARTS IA & IB

BCD	= Badami Chāḷukyan Dynasty
C An	= Chāḷukyānvaya
CA	= Chāḷukyābharaṇa
CK	= Chāḷukya kula
CV Saṃ	= Chāḷukya Vikrama Saṃvatsara
CV	= Chāḷukya Varṣa
CVe	= Chāḷukyas of Vemulavada
ECV	= Eastern Chāḷukyas of Vengi
Gen.	= Generations
HP	= Haritiputra
JC	= Jananathapuram Chāḷukyas
KC	= Kalyani Chāḷukyas
KV	= Kīrtivarman
KVV	= Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana
LC	= Local Chief
MC	= Mudigonda Chāḷukyas
MG	= Mānavya Gotra
Mtnc.	= Matronymic
NC	= Nidadavolu Chāḷukyas
PB	= Parent Branch
Pul.	= Pulakeśi
PVR	= Pravardhamāna Vijaya Rājya
Saṃ	= Saṃvatsara
SK	= Satyāśraya kula
*	= Starting from

CHAPTER IV

CONQUESTS, MIGRATIONS AND SPATIAL EXPANSION

This **Chapter**, attempts to investigate in depth the political and social mechanisms that came to be widely used as claims for greatness and points of validation by most of the newly emerged ruling elites. This is taken up with reference to the Chalukyan families that ruled during the early medieval period, in the Deccan region. By political mechanisms, we refer to those eulogistic accounts such as military achievements, titles and political symbols, which the court poets often used to glorify and elevate the status of their patrons and their ancestors. In the inscriptions this information is appended to the genealogical lore that formed an integral component of the *prasastis*. This study assumes greater significance because it effectively attempts to analyze the twin issues of (1) migrations and spatial expansion these families made and (2) the attempts to retrospect the events of the past in describing the greatness of the king and his ancestors, and how this became crucial to the contemporary situation in which the records were written. Done in correlation with the different TYPES of genealogies, delineated for the present study, this process of analysis would enable us to understand how elements of these issues continued or changed with each TYPE of genealogy to which this information is suffixed. In ultimate analysis, it is hoped to delineate how control of new areas and migration and expansion to new spatial areas was effected by these ruling families. The second part of the focus in this Chapter is on a description and analysis of the social mechanisms through which the process of control was exercised over the conquered territories. By social mechanisms, we refer to the marriage alliances, which the Chalukyan ruling elites purposely contracted with the other major ruling dynasties or the powerful local chiefs of the region. Marriage alliances in this regard, can be considered as crucial socio-political acts that were effected by the ruling elites to consolidate their claims of control on new territories acquired through military conquests. In contrast with the earlier Chapter where the predominant analytical categories were time

and identity formation, in this Chapter we shift to looking more closely at the notion of **space** and the transformation of existing identities effected by territorial conquests, migrations of the Chajukyan families into new settlements and marriage alliances made after.

Hitherto, conventional scholarship has largely used the material on military conquests and marriage alliances to write political and military history of the dynasties while underplaying the symbolic, and often exaggerated and eulogistic claims made by the kings. In this regard, their importance had been only realized to especially understand military achievements of the kings and their predecessors and to mark out the physical extent of their empires in terms of their control over large spatial units or kingdoms in a linear fashion, during this period. However, the new interpretative dimension that has emerged in recent years enables us to move away from these linear constructions by emphasizing on horizontal and broader issues of migrations in terms of spatial expansion. Further, the earlier studies preclude us from understanding the real purpose for which such exaggerated political and military claims were made which in the present context if this study was to look at their traditional past in modes of history and memory and that the ruling elite ostensibly seems to have accomplished. We thus argue that by focussing on these exaggerated claims one can understand the ruling elites concerns to consciously dwell on the events of the past that described the greatness of their respective families in terms of their achievements, so that these could be utilized to crystallize the public image of the king and his ancestors in different geographical and temporal contexts.

Before we take up an analysis of our data, it would be pertinent for us to deal with the geo-physical configuration of the Deccan. This information is crucial to highlight the heterogeneous and complex physical locale of the Deccan region in order to explain the distribution and the settlement patterns of the Chalukyan lineages in this region. An analysis carried out in this direction would enable us to argue that most of the conquests carried out by the different ruling elites were in areas with substantial resource bases **that was** necessary for the different stages of the evolution of the State to support its administrative structure.¹

The physical Deccan is broadly understood as the land south of the Vindhyas that stretched up to the Krishna-Tungabhadra basin.² The Deccan, as part of the Peninsular India, south of the Narmada and Tapi rivers, is one of the oldest landmasses in the world. The present-day states of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh cover a substantial part of the Deccan Plateau. Unlike the continuous landscape of the Indo-Gangetic plains in the north, the Deccan comprises of different natural divisions each noted for its particular resource base. Subba Rao rightly calls the agrarian tracts of the Deccan as "areas of attraction"³ those that were open to trade and migration as "areas of relative isolation" and those in the forested mountainous as complete "areas of isolation".⁴ The rich deposits of minerals brought by the inflow of rivers of the east like the Godavari, Krishna, Pennar makes this sub-region the agricultural nucleus by producing a variety of crops. In early medieval times, however, these were still important tracts for the growth and sustenance of pastoral economy. The configuration of the Deccan is further characterized by its geological formations. The central and southern Deccan have rich deposits of mineral resources. The Telangana areas of Andhra Pradesh are noted for their iron deposits while the Kolar district of Karnataka is known for its gold deposits and numerous ancient gold mines have been found in various parts of the Raichur doab. There are two extensive diamond-yielding tracts in the Peninsula— the Krishna-Godavari region and the vicinity of Cuddapah on the river Pennar. The Deccan Trap also forms the chief source of semi-precious stones.⁵ Most significantly, both the western and the eastern coastlines provided natural locations for port towns to emerge from early historic times onwards.

Along with these various geographical features, the climate of the region also played its due role in determining the nature of settlements in this region from the prehistoric times onwards. Situated close to the Tropic of Cancer, the climate of the region probably in the past as it is today, exhibited moderate variations. The favorable geographical and climatic conditions proved conducive for a multiplicity of economic subsistence patterns to thrive thus providing a continuous human habitation in the Deccan from very early times.⁶ Thus, the ecologically varied zones of the Deccan provided different kinds of surpluses and revenues to support them. Even though the Western Deccan did not have a

large agrarian hinterland, its prosperity rested on its trade links with North and Central India on the one hand, and on the other, it was its hospitable coastline that helped it maintain contact with foreign trade. In the Eastern Deccan, its immediate agrarian hinterland in terms of the fertile plains of the Krishna and Godavari delta regions enabled a large number of early historical settlements to thrive here. In contrast to these two sub-regions, the settlements of the Central Deccan were said to be largely dependent on their ability to produce objects of small-scale production with few pockets for agrarian expansion. These were located in the comparatively small agrarian niches of the Wainganga and the mid-Godavari valleys. The Southern Deccan from time to time saw a proliferation of the urban settlements, but the stability of some of these areas was dependent on their location near mineral rich areas or along trade routes.⁷ A marked feature of the economic and geographic diversity of the Deccan is that in all sub-regions the pastoral mode of production continued to co-exist well into the early medieval times. Further, dependence on forest produce was integral to the sustenance of many agrarian communities.

The earliest literary reference to migrations and settlements into the Deccan has been noted in the *Aitareya Brahmana*⁸ dated to the pre-Buddhist period. The text describes the southern frontier to which fifty older sons of Visvamitra migrated.⁹ Early Buddhist texts like the *Sutta Nipata* also refer to the story of Bavari and his migration into the Deccan with his disciples during the lifetime of the Buddha.¹⁰ This suggests that the Deccan had been realized as the most favorable region for human migrations since ancient times. In fact, Deccan has always been the foci for human habitations and settlements since pre-historic times and this fact is well supported by an expansive archaeological data available from this region. The Deccan has housed in distinct geographical niches communities of the Neolithic-Chalcolithic and the Megalithic cultures.¹¹ A gradual evolution of these into the early historical cultures of the Mauryan and the Satavahana times has been well researched to provide the habitation patterns up to the 5th century AD.¹² From the 6th century AD onwards the nature of settlement patterns changed markedly. This was due to a pre-dominant change in the way new States and kingdoms began to emerge based on the land grant economy. 13 Many early medieval and medieval kingdoms of the region such as the Vakatakas, Visnukundins, Kadambas and the Chajukyas

rose to power with this new resource base. This suggests that this region through historical time was marked by the most dynamic forces of change that saw the continuity of cultures and constant movement of forces. This can partly be attributed to its favorable geo-physical features and availability of natural resources that were crucial for the sustenance of polities, and partly due to its location as a sort of bridge connecting the polities of the north with those of the extreme south. In fact, it is for these reasons that it perennially remained a potential area for migration by ruling elites from outside the region.

With an overview of this background, we can now locate the emergence of the Chajukyas and analyze the reasons for their proliferation into different geographical zones of the Deccan and its political control for nearly six centuries, which no other ruling family in history held so far in the region. To understand this, we have first tried to define the core region of the family from which it further expanded its territorial base through conquests. The core or the nuclear region in the present study has been defined as an area around which the respective Chalukyan families established their capitals.

The earliest Chajukyan family had risen to political prominence after replacing the long established rule of their overlords, namely the Kadambas of Banavasi, during the second half of the 6th century AD. Their king Pulakesi I chose the hill of Badami in the south-western Deccan as the nucleus. The arid and rugged nature of this place enabled the king to convert the hill of Badami into an impenetrable fortress. For the newly ascendant ruling family the fortress not only served the defence purposes, but it also enabled the king to have close links with landholdings in the neighboring rural areas.¹⁴ It is from this nucleus that the subsequent kings of the family integrated into their kingdom, fertile and strategic regions of the eastern and western Deccan in order to have control over their agrarian base and maritime trade. They achieved this by following an ambitious expansionist policy of military conquests. Thus, when the early Chajukyas of Badami were at the peak of their political power that was accomplished under Pulakesi II, their kingdom included practically the whole of the trans-Vindhyan regions of India, except the territory of the Pallavas and that of a few southern powers further South¹⁵ (MAP 2). The geo-political integration of this expansive kingdom under one

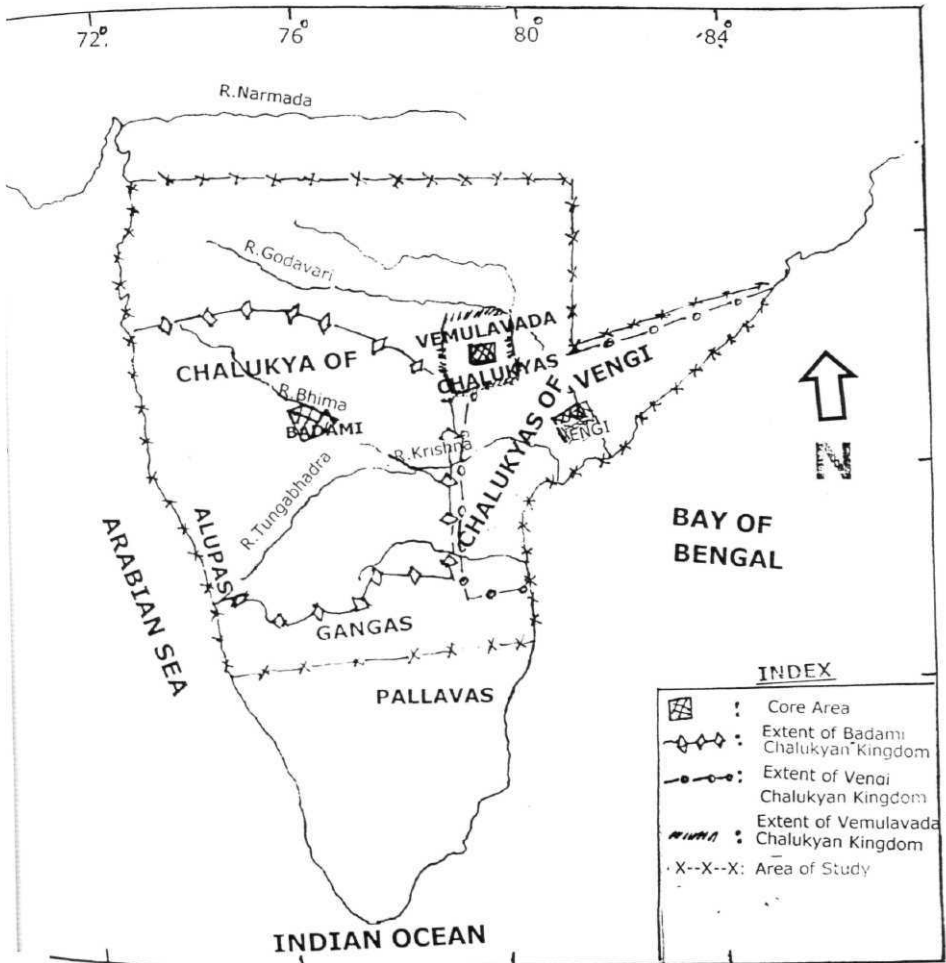
single polity, however, made it unmanageable and hence, it was segmented into viable zones that were then placed under the control of the members of the Chalukyan family, who were allowed to establish collateral branches. Thus, we find one branch of Chalukyas placed at Lata under Jayasimha and another at Vengi under Kubja Visnuvardhana. This in fact, is the first instance of the segmentation and migration of the Chalukyan lineage into different strategic locations of the Deccan.

For the present, we focus on the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. It may be stated at the outset that before Pulakesi II conquered Vengi, it was under the rule of the Salankayanas and Visnukundins. Vengi is not only strategically located converging major trade routes between the north and south, but its rich rice producing deltas of the Krishna and Godavari coupled with its command over a long sea board,¹⁶ has enhanced its position as the nucleus of political activity. This agriculturally nucleated area therefore, rightly recognized as the "area of attraction".¹⁷ It is this geo-political configuration of Vengi that attracted Pulakesi II who conquered it around 611 AD after defeating Mahendravarman III of the Visnukundin dynasty. However, for reasons of political strategy and to perpetuate his control over the coastal region, he deputed his brother Kubja Visnuvardhana as the ruler of Vengi that henceforth, formed core-region of the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom, till the nucleus was later shifted to Rajahmundry in the 10th century AD due to political reasons.¹⁸ The Eastern Chalukyas ruled the Eastern Deccan from the 7th-12th centuries AD. During the zenith of their political power, their kingdom extended from Ganjgm in the north to Nellore in the south. On the west it extended up to Telangana in the modern times and on the east, is bounded by the Bay of Bengal (**MAP 2**). Presumably, thus the whole of modern Andhra except the Southern districts formed the part of Vengi kingdom.¹⁹

When the Eastern Chalukyas were beginning to expand their territorial sovereignty in the Eastern Deccan, their kinsmen in the Western Deccan were on the verge of eclipse due to the Rastrakuta ascendancy to political power and were ultimately overthrown in 757 AD.²⁰ The political ambitions of both the

MAP 2

EXTENT OF THE CHALUKYAN KINGDOMS (PHASE 1)



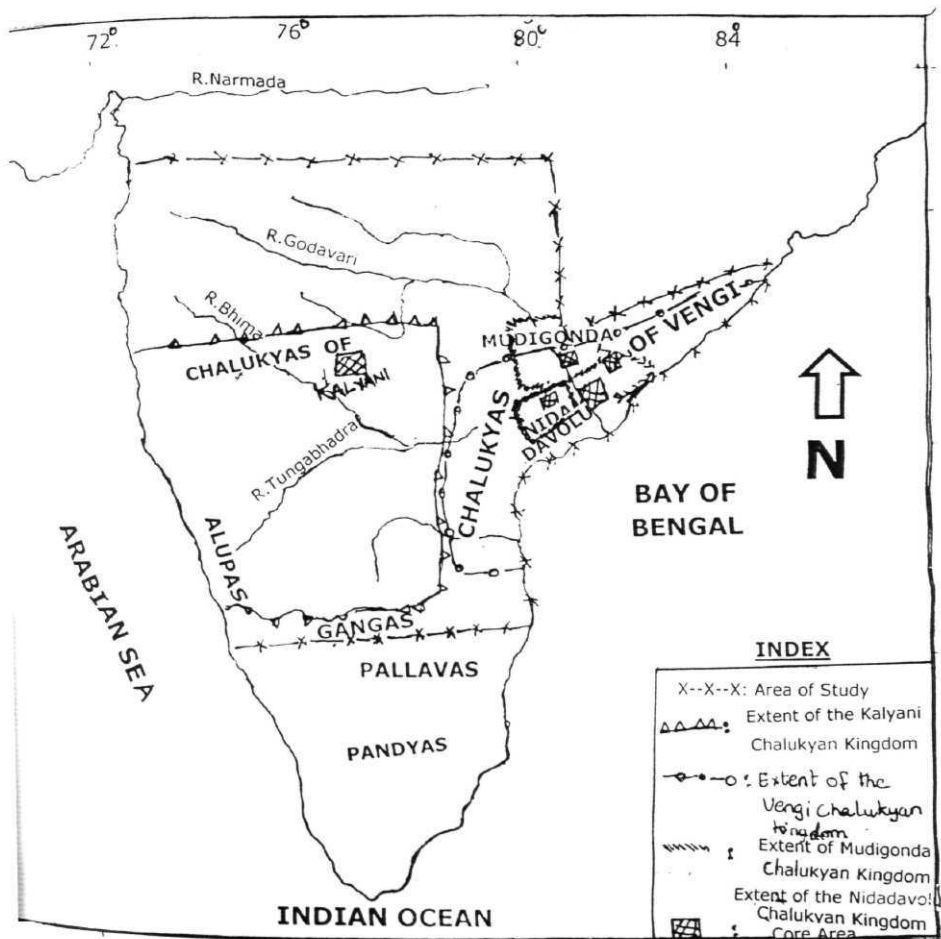
Eastern Chajukyas and the Rastrakutas often came into continuous conflict. It is around this time that minor Chajukyan families like Vemulavada and Mudigonda also emerged on the political scene. The Chajukyas of Vemulavada (8th-10th Centuries AD) had their core-region established at Vemulavada in the central Deccan, which was known for its rich deposits of minerals. They were strategically located between the Rastrakuta kingdom and that of the Eastern Chajukyas. However, due to their geographical proximity to the former, they were more inclined towards them and often fought for them in their wars against the Eastern Chajukyas.²¹ On the other hand, the Mudigonda Chalukyas who have come into political prominence during the 9th century AD, chose Mudigonda, now in the present day Khammam district of Andhra Pradesh, a rich agrarian zone as their core-region.²² They were located in vicinity of the Vengi Chalukyan kingdom and hence, are found more close to them. The political history so far discussed corresponded to Phase 1 of the present study.

Continuous wars between the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi and the Rastrakutas equally emasculated both the dominant Deccan powers and by 973 AD, a new phase in the Deccan politics was set to stage. In the context of the present study, we have marked this stage as Phase 2. It may be noted that during this period, while the Rastrakutas and the minor Chajukyas of Vemulavada were replaced by the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani in the Western Deccan, in the Eastern Deccan the Chajukyas of Vengi became a protectorate under the Chojas.²³ The political capital of the Eastern Chajukyas was now completely shifted to Rajahmundry, situated on the banks of river Godavari.²⁴ There is however, no change in the core-area of the Mudigonda Chajukyas. Around the 11th century, two other minor Chalukyan families emerged, one establishing its nucleus at Nidadavolu near Bezawada in the present-day Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh and the other at Jananathapuram near Rajahmundry in the East Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh.²⁵ Thus we find, that the Krishna-Godavari delta basin, because of its high agrarian potentiality always remained the centre of attraction for political powers through out the early medieval period. Simultaneously, in the Western Deccan the Chajukyas of

Kalyani who replaced Rastrakutas continued to maintain their capital at Manyakheta or Malkhed, which was once the strong hold of their political predecessors.²⁶ But under Somesvara I, the core-region of the kingdom was now shifted to Kalyani, a town near modern Bidar in Karnataka.²⁷ Centrally located between the Western and the Eastern Deccan, this shift in capital enabled the later Chalukyan rulers of Kalyani to expand the agrarian base of their kingdom especially, in the east. For a long time they were able to effectively control the economic resources of Vengi.²⁸ The territorial extent of the Kalyani Chajukyas reached its peak under Vikramaditya VI, due to his military expeditions against the kings of both the northern and southern India²⁹ (MAP 3). Thus, we notice that it was primarily the kingdoms having their core-areas in the arid and dry zones of the West were more aggressive and constantly endeavored to extend their control over the rich agrarian zones in the east.

However, to have the control over the newly conquered territories is just not enough, as the kings of these various ruling families of the Chalukyas also needed political legitimatization and social identity. This was provided by the *brahmanas* who were supported by the kings through land grants. Besides *brahmanas* the kings also patronized the Kayasthas, the Jainas and other such groups who belonged to the literate class.³⁰ These bards like those of the *sutas* and *magadhas* of ancient times, composed panegyrics about the military expeditions of their patron in which, he was always shown as a successful hero.³¹ In fact, the written text whether in the land grant noted in the inscription or, the *Mahakavya* ordered to be written by the king, was mainly based on what these literate elite, in the process of creating a text, felt for their patron. Hence, there was always a tendency for this information to be formulaic where the court poet often indulged in the invention of new traditions³² to idealize the king. Nonetheless, these consciously chosen traditions throw light on the way the dominant choose to remember their past and therefore, need to be studied from a fresh perspective. It must be noted at the outset, that conquests referred to were sometimes also in the realm of imagination. The issue of importance is why the details on actual and fictive conquests therefore, were combined in this way.

MAP 3 **EXTENT OF THE CHALUKYAN KINGDOMS (PHASE 2)**



It is against the backdrop this discussion that we initiate our analysis to comprehend migrations and spatial expansions based on information available as part of *prasastis* in the different TYPES of genealogies we had delineated in Chapter III. To comprehend this process in terms broader than merely political, we have taken three categories of information, namely, military achievements of the king and his ancestors, titles/ epithets of both the king and his ancestors and political symbols. Each of these implicates on the deeper purposes for which this information was noted determining partly the way the past of these families had to be constructed. By military achievements, we mean the way the ruling elite announced their achievements in war. This has been done either by giving a simple statement of an individual king subduing hostile kings or, by giving the names of the places he conquered. Earlier conventional scholars have used this material to write political and military history of the Chajukyan families. Next, we have a description of the titles/ epithets that were used by the panegyrists of the court to address the king and his ancestors. These are usually high sounding and exaggerated to say the least were meant to indicate the authority and sovereignty of the king. In this regard, we noted four ways in which titles/ epithets were given to the ruling elite. These are: the military titles like *ranarasika*, *ranavikraita*, etc., the imperial titles likes *raja*, *maharaja*, etc., titles/epithets referring to gods and epic heroes like *Trivikrama*, *Sahasa Rama*, etc., and finally, miscellaneous titles that illustrated the physical and educational qualities of the king like *Satyasraya*, *Guna nidhi*, etc. The next category of information that further enhanced the sovereign claims of the king pertains to the acquisition of political symbols or royal insignia. By political symbols, we mean reference to the *pancha mahasabdas*, *dhakka* (drum), *paliketana* (the flag in row) and so on. We have provided all this information in the form of Charts **IIA and IIB** that are appended to this Chapter. This has been done primarily because apart from recording genealogical connection adding prestige to the family was also important especially because, we are using this data to emphasize how these families looked at their past. Therefore, the exaggerated accounts may be because these were a mode of history writing that not only recorded bare facts of biological connections but also valuing those connections in terms of enhancing the glory of the family.

II

To begin with, we first describe the military achievements of both the king and his ancestors, because we feel that it is this information that provided the most tangible means of explaining their greatness. In this regard, we first looked at the military achievements of the king's ancestors since it is crucial to comprehend the 'real' or 'imagined' extension of the territory that the contemporary king who got the record written had inherited. This is followed by an analysis of the military achievements of the contemporary king and his attempts to extend his territorial control and whether he too employed the conventional way of making exaggerated claims to conquest without in fact doing so.

In the context of the present study, we noted that military achievements of the ancestors have been given in three different ways. These are described as (a) those that simply stated subjection of hostile kings without however, referring to the names or places that were subdued, (b) those that rendered the name of the king or the territory that had been conquered and (c) those examples that referred to both the above mentioned ways of overpowering the enemy.

To begin with, we noted that in TYPE I of Phase 1, where we have simple genealogies up to three generations, there are about 33 out of 60 examples that referred to the military achievements of the predecessors of the king. Out of these, about 17 examples belonged to the first pattern where the king's ancestors namely his father, grandfather or great grandfather are simply described as "to have caused vexation of many hostile kings" (Chart IIA, 7, 8, 10, 18, 26, 29-33, 38-41, 81-83). On the other hand, in about 10 examples the names of places conquered by the king's predecessors are clearly stated (Chart IIA, 19, 25, 27, 28, 35-37, 42-44, 75). Thus for instance, in the Mundakallu inscription of Adityavarman of the Badami Chajukyan dynasty, the king's grandfather (Kirtivarman I) was stated to have defeated the kings of Vanavasi, besides subduing other hostile kings of the neighborhood. Similarly, his father (Pulakesi I) was described as having vanquished the lord of

Uttarapatha, namely Harshavardhana. Interestingly, these same incidents are reproduced in all other examples belonging to the Badami Chajukyas without any change, except in the Pattadakal inscription of Kirtivarman II, where this information is absent. Instead this latter record refers to the king's father (Vikramaditya II) as having defeated the kings of Kanchi. A combination of the above two patterns is noted only in 5 examples (**Chart IIA, 3, 5, 20, 21, 86**). Thus for instance, the Mahakuta inscription³³ of Marigalesa describes the military achievements of the king's great grandfather and grandfather by simply stating that they have caused vexation to their enemies. However, with reference to the achievements of his brother (Kirtivarman I), who was his immediate predecessor to the throne, the record refers to places like Vanga, Ahga, Kajiriga, Vattura, Migadha, Madraka, Keraja, Gaiiga, Mushaka, Pandya, Dramila, Chojiya, Aluka, and Vaijayanti that are said to have been conquered by him. This is interesting, because neither the records of Kirtivarman nor those of his other successors refer to these conquests. Further, a majority of places mentioned in this example appears to be more 'imagined' than 'real' and therefore, not mentioned in earlier records. It seems the real motive for inventing such an exaggerated account seems to be inherent in the fear of being overthrown by his nephew who was the actual legal heir to the throne. On the other hand, in the Hyderabad inscription of Pulakesi II dated to 613 AD, while the king's grandfather (Pulakesi I) is stated to have subjected all kings, his father (Kirtivarman I) is said to have defeated only the hostile king of Vanavasi. Slightly different from this example, we have Masulipatnam plates of Gunaga Vijayaditya III of the Eastern Chajukyan dynasty. In this record, while the king's grandfather, namely Vijayaditya II or Narendra Mfgaraja was described to have destroyed the power of the Gariga dynasty, the military achievements that of his father were mentioned in a rather simple way (**Chart IIA, 86**).

Thus in TYPE I, we noticed that most of the inscriptions simply refer to the suppression of hostile kings and so on. This means that they were actually busy in controlling the immediate regions surrounding their core area. But their

zeal for conquests and territorial expansion was seemingly very high in this TYPE and this is attested by the assumption of military titles that emphasized their greatness and love for warfare. Such an effort was primarily made to ward off the enemy by claim of the titles of honor even if actual conquest had not been done. In this regard in TYPE I, we noticed ten different military titles/ epithets that were used to describe the military prowess of the king. Thus, for instance, in different examples we have come across titles/ epithet like *Puru Rana Parakrama*³⁴ (Chart IIA, 3), *Rana Vikrahta*³⁵ (Chart IIA, 3, 7, 8, 9), *Sri Parakrama* (Chart IIA, 9, 10), *Bhattacharya*³⁶ (Chart HA, 20, 21, 75), *Ripu Narendra*³⁷ (Chart IIA, 20, 21), *Vishamasiddhi*³³ (Chart IIA, 26), *Makaradhvaja*³⁹ (Chart IIA, 32, 41), *Sarva Siddhi*⁴⁰ (Chart IIA, 33), *Ranamukha* (Chart IIA, 38), *Ranabhushana*⁴¹ (Chart IIA, 41). These titles clearly indicate an attempt to project the ancestors as great warriors who took pleasure in waging war and expanding territories, though the actual number of places conquered in this TYPE of genealogies are very few. This clearly indicates that this was a well-formulated strategy by the upcoming ruling elites to announce their intentions of greatness, their inherent power and ability but not necessarily indicating that they had undertaken all wars they had intended to but is only a strategy adopted by the writers of the inscriptions to glorify their patrons.

On the contrary, with the expansion of the historical genealogy in TYPE II, we find that the number of examples referring to the military achievements of the ancestors also increase. Thus, in this TYPE, one has noticed 44 examples, out of which a large number of about 35 inscriptions give a detailed list of the names of places conquered by the king's predecessors, when compared to a meager number of about only 11 examples in TYPE I genealogies. But, concomitantly, there is a drastic fall in the examples that gave simple statements of the military achievements in TYPE II with only 3 examples mentioning it. This is in contrast to 17 examples in TYPE I doing the same. However, not much change is noticed in the examples that refer to both the above patterns together, namely, listing actual places conquered along with perfunctory statements about military achievements. The number of examples that do not refer to military achievements at all is also considerably low in TYPE

II with only 13 examples out of 57, compared to their non-mention in 28 out of 60 in TYPE I.

In the previous Chapter, we had noted that TYPE II genealogies contained two different patterns. One, rendering the entire list of ancestors without, however, giving the reign period of each king. The other pattern being giving the list of ancestors along with the reign period of each king. Similarly, there is also a difference in the way the military achievements are enumerated in these two genealogical patterns. While in the first pattern, where the inscriptions belonged to the Badami Chalukyan dynasty, the military accounts of all the ancestors was given, in the second pattern, with prominent examples belonging to the Eastern Chalukyan family and the Vemulavada Chajukyas, the achievements of only the immediate ancestors are furnished.

In this regard, we notice that in the first pattern, we have about 24 examples in which the military deeds along with the names of places conquered by all the members of the king's family beginning from the earliest member were given (**Chart IIA, 46-60, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76**). Only in one instance, the military achievements of the earliest two members of the family, who were considered to be the local chiefs, are simply stated without details. For the other later members the list of places conquered are given (**Chart IIA, 12**). Thus for instance, in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesi II, the earliest members namely, Jayasimha and Ranaraga are simply mentioned as the masters of the world, who acquired victories in several battles. On the other hand, Pulakesi I was mentioned as the maker of Vatapi and Kirtivarman I, the father of the king, was described as having achieved victory over the Najas, Mauryas and Kadambas. Next, the record refers to the achievements of Mangalesa over the Katakchuris (Kajachuris) and the conquest of Revatidvipa. However, interestingly in the records of the successors of Pulakesi II, neither the names nor the achievements of Jayasimha, Ranaraga and Maigalesa are mentioned. Similarly, the military success of Kirtivarman I over the Najas, Mauryas and Kadambas was also found to be absent. Instead, one notices that in all other inscriptions belonging to the successors of Pulakesi II, Kirtivarman I's success

over Vanavasi was highlighted. Similarly, Pulakesi II's emphatic victory over Harshavardhana, the lord of Uttarapatha was emphasized upon in many examples (Chart IIA, 46-60, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76). On the other hand, while some records mention the victory of Vikramaditya I, the son of Pulakesi II over the Pallavas of Kanchi, Pandyas, Chojas and Keraja (Chart IIA, 46-54), others added the name of Kalabhras to the existing list (Chart IIA, 55-60, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76). However, Vinayaditya's success over the tributary kings of Kavera, Parasika, Simhaja and the lord of Kanchi along with other countries remained same in all the examples (Chart IIA, 55-60, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76). In 4 examples Vijayaditya, the son and successor of Vinayaditya, was mentioned as having defeated the king of Vatsa (Chart IIA, 69, 72-74). Two other examples describe him as the vanquisher of the Pallavas (Chart IIA, 74, 76). About Vikramaditya II we have 3 examples that refer to him as the conqueror of the Pallava king (Chart IIA, 74, 76). Thus, from the list of places mentioned above we come to know that most of these places mentioned above, except Kavera, Parasika, Sirphaja, are located in south of the Deccan region and this suggests that this information as part of TYPE II genealogies, now indicates an attempt to extend the Chalukyan kingdom in various directions. Further, these achievements of the ancestors are accompanied by their military titles. Interestingly, we noted that in the above-cited examples of TYPE II, we have reference to the title namely, *Bhattarakasya*, and only this is mentioned in 25 examples (Chart IIA, 34, 46-61, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76). Besides this, there is no reference to any other such titles as noticed in the TYPE I examples.

In contrast to the above descriptions, we have 20 examples in TYPE II where the military deeds of only the immediate ancestors of the king are enumerated though the genealogy included the entire list of names of members of the family. In this pattern of genealogies, we noted all the three different ways through which the military achievements of the ancestors were described. Thus, we had 3 examples that merely mentioned the success of the king's ancestors in various battles (Chart IIA, 34, 92, 93). This is followed by 11 examples wherein a list of places conquered by the ancestors of the king were

given. Often in these examples only the achievements of Narendramrgaraja Vijayaditya II, Gunaga Vijayaditya III and Chajukya Bhima are enumerated. Further, one has also pertinently discerned differences in the enumeration of the list of places being conquered by these kings. While in 2 examples, Narendramrgaraja Vijayaditya II was attributed with success over the Garigas and the Rastrakutas (chart II A, 87, 88), in one example, his conquest over the Gaiigas is "only mentioned. Similarly, with reference to Gunaga Vijayaditya III, we noted that in the Moga⁴² grant of Chajukya Bhima I, his successful conquests over the Gangas of Kajiriga, the Kosalas, Pandyas, Pallavas, Nolamba Rastras, the Rastrakutas, Karnatas, and the Latas are described (Chart IIA, 90). On the other hand, the Telugu Academy Plates⁴³ of Chajukya Bhima I added few more cities like Kiranapura, Achalapura and Uru-Nellurapura to the above list of conquests of Gunaga Vijayaditya III. However, it exempted the names of some places like the Nolamba Rashtra, the Karnata and the Lata from the above list. But, in the subsequent examples, we find reference only to the Gangas (Chart IIA, 94, 101, 112), the Rastrakutas (Chart IIA, 94, 51), Nolamba Rastras (Chart IIA, 101, 112) and Sankfla the lord of Dahaja (Chart IIA, 101, 109, 112) whom Gunaga Vijayaditya III was described to have successfully subdued. In another interesting example, we notice that the king's father (Yuddhamaiia) was credited with the conquest of countries such as Turushka, Yavana, Barbara, Kasmira, Kambhoja, Magadha, Kajinga, Gaiiga, Pallava, Pandya and Kerala (Chart IIA, 100). In two other examples of a different king, the king's father was attributed success over the rulers of seven Majavas and the Gurjara kings (Chart IIA, 102,103).

Besides these above examples, we have some 6 examples, in which both the simple statements as well as the list of places conquered by the king's ancestors has been given. Thus, for instance, in the Ederu plates of Amma I, Kali Visnuvardhana has been mentioned as the conqueror of hostile cities. But his successors, Gunaga Vijayaditya III and Chajukya Bhima I have been mentioned as those who defeated the kings of the Gangas, the Rastrakutas and

the Rattas, respectively. In yet another interesting example, we note a record referring to the conquests of Gunaga Vijayaditya III and Chajukya Bhima I over the Rashtrakutas. Similarly, with reference to Chajukya Bhima II (father of the king), it gives the personal names of all the people such as Rajamayya, Dhajaga, Tatabikki, Bijja, Ayyapa, Govinda, Lovabikki (the Chola ruler) and Yuddhamalla (the predecessor of Chajukya Bhima II), whom the king is said to have defeated, without however, giving the names of localities which they ruled. Hence, we may presume that they must have been some local chiefs who had contested that authority of Chajukya Bhima II. However, with reference to Amma I, the grandfather of the king, it simply says that he conquered rows of hostile kings (**Chart IIA, 104**). Curiously in none of the above-described examples we come across the military titles of the ancestors. Further, all these examples mentioned in TYPE II also clearly indicate to us, how certain events of a particular king got more focussed upon by repeatedly describing his greatness than others. Further, these descriptions also suggest a change from those of TYPE I in the way the ancestors military achievements were perceived of and remembered so that certain important aspects of the past got more markedly emphasized.

In the light of the above descriptions it is apparent that in TYPE I of Phase 1 when the Chajukyas had just risen to political power and were in the process of expanding their political control, their inscriptions showed very few instances of conquests that were beyond the core area. This can be linked to the fact that in TYPE I, the genealogies too were short and hence, the number of ancestors itself was small and their military achievements limited. Thus, we find the large majority of inscriptions in this TYPE referring to the ancestors as subduing hostile kings. This clearly suggests that the actual political control was around the places adjoining the core area. However, reference to their military titles is considerable, thus indicating the initial zeal to project the ancestor as a great warrior. But the claims made by Marigalesa in the Mahakuta inscription about his brother Kirtivarman I conquests of territories such as Vaiiga, Ariga, Magadha, etc., that are located far beyond the core area,

is a clear indication to add on the "imaginary" territorial control so that the greatness of his brother is enhanced.

On the other hand, in TYPE II, we noted a clear change from TYPE I. In this TYPE, where the genealogies are lengthy, there is an increase in the number of examples that describe the military achievements of ancestors. Reference to conquests of kingdoms like Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas, Katachuris (Kalachuris), Vanavasi and Revatidvipa shows that initial expansion was directed towards the Western Deccan that was away from their core region, namely Badami/ Vatapi. Western Deccan had a favorable sea-coast and expansion towards this direction meant to have control over maritime trade. The presence of inscriptions of TYPE I and TYPE II genealogies in these areas, shows that these were controlled through encouraging migrations of *brahmanas* into these areas by a system of land grants. On the other hand, frequent references to the conquest of southern kingdoms of the Pallavas of Kanchi, Pandyas, Choias and Keralas reveals that expansion towards south was attempted but it proved to be a difficult task and its control therefore, always fluctuated depending on the strength of the king. Further, there were other references like the kingdoms of Kavera, Parasjka, Sinnhaja. These were mentioned as tributary states and therefore, their control appears only temporary.

Besides these, in few examples belonging to the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, we found references to the conquest of the Rastrakutas, Gangas of Kajiriga, Kosalas, Pandyas, Pallavas, Nolamba Rastras, Karnatas, Latas, Kiranapura, Achalapura and Uru-Nellurapura. These kingdoms were located in all the four directions of the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom. Thus, while the kingdoms of the Rastrakutas, Karnatas and Latas formed the Western frontier of the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom, the other places like Kiranapura, Achalapura were located in the central India. Further, the kingdoms of the Pandyas, Pallavas, Nolamba Rastras and Uru-Nellurapura are located to the south of the Eastern Chalukyan boundaries and that of Gangas of Kajiriga and

Kosalas are towards the north-east of the Chalukyan kingdom. This clearly shows that there was an attempt to extend the kingdom in all directions. Hence, one can clearly discern from these examples that the political expansion was now directed beyond the core region of the kingdoms of both the Badami and Vengi Chalukyas. Some of the places that were mentioned above are located in fertile belts of agrarian zones and on the seacoast. Hence, the king who inherited these places from his ancestors, therefore, scrupulously recorded these conquests so that the posterity would know the military greatness of his ancestors who by conquering places of strategic importance achieved political integration of the Deccan.

From the 8th century AD, the kings of the Deccan showed great fascination to assume a pan-Indian identity. This in fact had become an important mechanism to seek a new political identity for the in power. Thus in this context, we found one inscription⁴⁴ belonging to the minor Chajukyan family of Vemulavada that refers to the conquest of countries such as Turushka, Yavana, Barbara, Kasmira, Kambhoja, Magadha, Kajjiiga, Gariga, Pallava, Pandya and Keraja by the king's father. This clearly suggests that the information contained here is perhaps formulaic and 'imagined' but at the same time it also indicates how the ruling elite of a subordinate and less imperial status tried to seek pan-Indian identity by referring to these north Indian conquests. Such exaggerated formulations about the ancestors of the king, we argue emanates from the perceived threat to the political stability of the kingdom, and hence the need to glorify the deeds and actions of the predecessors and fabricate lengthy genealogies.

The above analysis of the "real" and "imagined" territorial control that the king describes by retrieving the past achievements of his ancestors is indicative of one mode of historical writing, where he looks at his immediate historical past to enhance the greatness of his family. Hence, in this process he is also very selective in referring to only those ancestors who eclipsed the great powers such as the Kadambas, Harsha of the north in TYPE I and the Rastrakutas, the Pallavas, the Cholas, the Kajachuris, etc., in TYPE II, who are actually 'foreign' to the land of the traditional Chajukyan control. Thus, it was

found that in most of the records of the Badami Chalukyas, the conquest of Vanavasi by Kirtivarman and the victory of Pulakesi II over Harsha were highlighted. Both these incidents were crucial landmarks in the political history of the Chalukyan family, since the conquest of the former permanently established the Chalukyan rule in the Western Deccan and the latter incident elevated the Chalukyas to an imperial status.^{H5} Hence, the memory of these two incidents was found recurring in many inscriptions of both TYPE I and II in Phase 1. Similarly, in some examples of TYPE II, the military achievements of some of the king's ancestors against the mighty powers of the Rastrakutas, Kajachuris, Chojas, Pallavas, Pandyas, etc. are highlighted. But however, their defeat in the hands of these major powers was often found telescoped with neither the inscription nor the *Kavya* recording them. Significantly, in a couple of examples in both TYPE I and TYPE II, we noted that the king was attributing "imagined territorial conquests" to his ancestors. This clearly suggests that during Phase 1, the ruling elites were more concerned to keep the memory of only those events that articulated the greatness of the king's ancestors. Certainly, these accounts reveal to us the different ways through which the ruling elite looked at their past, which is documented in the inscriptional *prasastis* for posterity to remember. In fact, one can envisage that this mode of historical writing has indeed become a significant factor for the contemporary king to enhance his prestige and further establish a socio-political identity through referring to an important and glorious aspect of the past.

Interestingly, in Phase 2 we have a different picture altogether. In this Phase where we have two different TYPES of genealogies, namely, TYPE III and TYPE IV, we noticed that while in TYPE IV, there is a complete absence of the mention of the military achievements of the king's ancestors, in TYPE III on the other hand, we get three different methods in describing these. These are (1) those that describe the military achievements of the family as a whole, of the parent branch and the achievements of the early members of the ruling family under consideration, (2) those that refer only to the military achievements of the earliest members of the Chalukyan family. In this method of description, reference to the military achievements of the parent branch and that of the ruling branch are absent and (3) those examples where only the

accomplishments of the immediate ancestors was mentioned. However, we also have some examples, where there is no mention of the deeds of the ancestors at all (**Chart IIB, 83, 90, 93, 95, 96**).

We noted 6 examples pertaining to the first method (**Chart IIB, 4, 14, 57, 59, 69, 84, 86**). This may be illustrated through the following example. The Kauthem⁴⁶ grant of Vikramaditya V, dated to 1008 AD of the Kalyani Chaiukyan family first introduces the military achievements of the kings of the Chaiukyan lineage over the Nalas, Kadambas, Mauryas, Rastrakutas and Kalachuris. Having thus stated the record then refers to the military accomplishments of the parent branch starting from Jayasimha Vallabha onwards, the earliest member of the Badami Chaiukyan family. This king is accredited with usurpation of the Rastrakuta kingdom and the subsequent establishment of the Chaiukyan sovereignty. However, the record is silent about the achievements of his son, Ranaraga, and grand son Pulakesi I. But Kirtivarman I, successor of Pulakesi I, was credited with the victory over the Nalas, the Mauryas and the Kadambas. About Mangalesa, the younger brother of Kirtivarman I, the record states that his conquests were over the island of Revati and the Kalachuris. Pulakesi II, the next ruler, was eulogized for his victory over the great king Harsha of Uttarapatha. After this, interestingly the record is silent about the military achievements of other kings of the Badami Chaiukyan family. This continues up to the reign of Kirtivarman II in whose regime the regal fortunes of the Chaiukyas were said to have been encumbered by the Rastrakuta king Dantidurga who dispossessed the Chaiukyan power about the middle of the 8th century AD. From here onwards the narration shifts to the detailing of the military conquests of the main ruling dynasty under consideration, namely, the Chaiukyas of Kalyani. In this regard, we have noticed that it is only from the reign of Taila II that the military conquests undertaken by the members of this family were enumerated. Thus, for instance, Taila II's displacement of the Rastrakuta rule gets highlighted. However, in two of the other examples, we noted reference to Jagadekamalla I's, success over the Chojas and the lords of the Seven Konkarnas (**Chart IIB,**

59, 69). The same examples also refer to Ahavamalladeva Somesvara I's subjection of the Malavas, the king of Kanyakubja and for having arrested the fury of the Gajapati, the title of some southern dynasty. In one other example of a similar kind, we notice reference to the Durjayas in place of the Kalachuris, while discussing the achievements of Taila II (**Chart IIB, 86**).

In the second method enumerated above, we have about 14 examples that refer to the military exploits of only the mythical founder of the Chalukyan lineage (**Chart IIB, 7, 11, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 60, 62, 66, 97, 98**). In these examples, it has been stated that one Visnuvardhana, the son of Vijayaditya of Ayodhya had conquered the territories of the Kadambas, Garigas and other kings who had ruled over the Daksinapatha, especially the territory lying between Setu and Narmada that contained nearly 7 1/2 lakh villages. Apart from the mention of this event, we have noted that in all these examples there is a complete absence of the military accounts of other members of the Chalukyan dynasty, except for two records. In these records, the king's father was stated to have conquered Kerala, Pandya, Kuntala and all other countries (**Chart IIB, 60, 62**).

In two other examples, however, we noted a conspicuous absence of the achievements of the ancestors of the parent branch, but it is the achievements of the ancestors of the main family to which the king belonged that gets focussed upon. Thus for instance, in the Balagamve inscription of Jagadekamalla I, dated to 1019 AD, the king's grandfather was described as having been successful over the Cholas and his father was mentioned as having defeated the Rattas (**Chart IIB, 10**). Similarly, the Gadag inscription of Vikramaditya VI dated to 1099 AD, Taila II's is mentioned to have extirpated the Rattas, and terrified the Panchalas (**Chart IIB, 73**). Thus, with the lessening of the number of examples referring to the military conquests of the ancestors, reference to their military titles/epithets also decreases. Interestingly, it has been noted that in both the TYPES of this phase namely, TYPE III and TYPE IV, reference to the military titles of ancestors is completely absent.

In the light of the above descriptions, we observe that in TYPE III of Phase 2, unlike in Phase 1, we have three distinct modes of recording the military greatness of the king's ancestors. In this regard, we noted that in one mode of writing, the king not only referred to the territorial expansion achieved under his immediate ancestors, but also continuously referred to the ancestors of his parent branch, namely the Chajukays of Badami from whom he claimed descent. The account that has been reproduced in these records alludes to the actual territorial control that the Badami Chajukyays achieved up to the reign of Pulakesi II. In this narration, however, the records clearly shows that the expansion of the early Chalukyan kingdom was primarily towards the west of their core area. This, we infer from the mention of those kingdoms such as Nalas, the Mauryas, the Kadamabas and the Kalachuris that are evidently located in the Western Deccan. Next, we notice reference to the military conquests of the ancestors belonging to the Kalyani Chalukyan kings. Most of the areas that were conquered by them namely, the Rastrakutas, Seven Korikanas, Malavas, Kalachuris and Rattas were all political powers having their nucleus in the western Deccan and controlling the sea-coast. From this account therefore, it is clear that the territorial extension of the Western Chajukyan kings of Kalyani took place around their chosen core area, namely, Kalyani and did not go beyond the imaginary limits of spatial control.

On the other hand, in the records of the Eastern Deccan, one comes across examples that refer to the control of an "imaginary" space rather than the real space of control that we envisaged above. This is elucidated from the statement where one Visnuvardhana, the son of Vijayaditya of Ayodhya was described to have conquered territories of the Kadambas, Gangas and other kings who ruled over the Dakshinapatha, i.e., the territory lying between Setu and Narmada that contained 7 1/2 villages. Thus, the memory of the control of a "sacred" space was highlighted in this type of examples than the actual territorial control that the ancestors achieved during their rule. Thus, from the above analysis of our data we can clearly discern that the actual territorial

control in this TYPE is rather limited when compared to Phase 1 where it extended far beyond the core-area.

Interestingly, even the military achievements and the territorial control accomplished under the ancestors of the kings saw the invention of new traditions from time to time. Thus while in Phase 1, the memory of the military achievements of the ancestors of the individual families were preserved, in the context of TYPE III in Phase 2 however, the mode of historical writing especially, the way the ruling elites looked at their past with reference to their ancestors undergoes a significant change. In this regard, we have noted that in few records of the Western Deccan, the Chalukyas as a lineage were attributed with the conquests over the Nalas, Kadambas, Mauryas, Rastrakutas and Kalachuris. However, who these Chalukyan kings were not mentioned. Such descriptions attributing power to an unknown past of the family's lineage are clearly absent in both the TYPES of Phase 1. This suggests the ruling elite in TYPE III were more concerned at projecting the family image by portraying its members as great conquerors of the immediate and hoary past who were invincible on the battlefield. Another interesting aspect noted in these examples is with reference to the military achievements of the members of the parent branch, namely the Badami Chajukyas. In this regard, there was also an attempt made to consult the historical records and reproduce some of the information for the present concerns. Thus, in these records we noted the revival of Kirtivarman I's achievement over the Nalas, Kadambas and Mauryas, which was earlier being suppressed in the records of the Badami Chajukyas. However, in these records one finds that though Pulakesi II victory over Harsha is remembered, his conquest of the Eastern Deccan and the subsequent migration of the Chalukyan lineage, who established the eastern branch of the Chalukyan family was completely discarded. Similarly, even the early Chalukyan kings' attempt to expand towards the South that was found in most of the inscriptions of TYPE II was also ignored. This suggests that during this period when the actual territorial expansion was limited, there was constant revamping and selecting of source material only to serve the contemporary needs of the ruling elite. Further, it can also be discerned that the political identities had made each Chajukyan family distinct from each other and

therefore, for pragmatic considerations they made such exaggerated claims of conquering the whole of north India and so on.

Similarly, the Chajukyan records of both the western and the eastern Deccan come up with, possibly an imagined migration theory, of a certain Vijayaditya from Ayodhya to the Deccan. This is interesting, as it explains to us the importance of the collective conscious for a particular past associated with sacred space, for the family as a whole. It is clearly suggestive from our data in TYPE III that glorious past about the family mattered more than the individual or ancestor achievements as noted in TYPE I and II in Phase 1. Nonetheless, from the examples of both these Phases, it is apparent that a different type of retrieval of the past existed in these descriptions that coincides with different TYPES of genealogy delineated for the present study. Further, it is also indicative of the selective process involved in writing an inscriptional text, which in turn was created on the basis of those events/persons/ places of the past the author judged could be upheld to suit the needs of the present time. Thus, from the above analysis, we argue that whereas traditional historians have looked at the "greatness" factor in this type of information, which of course is more explicit, we not only looked at this factor but also emphasized on looking at the embedded notion of history in these sources by emphasizing on the different ways of retrieving the past that was important for the formation of social identity in the present.

Significantly, some of the above incidents especially those pertaining to the imagined past described in the inscriptional text, appeared in a similar vein in the literary texts of the period. For instance, in the *Vikramankadeva Carita*, Bilhana describes the migration of the Chajukyias from Ayodhya to the Deccan. He further glorifies the military conquests of Ahavamalla Somesvara I, the father of his patron, over the Cholas, Malawa, Dahaja and Kanchi. This indicates that the writing of an inscriptional text was not entirely different from that of the literary text, and that in both these two genres of texts, the court poets adopted a selective process of writing about the past in a way that suited the intentions for preserving a certain identity and collective memory of the past. Thus, the retrieval of this past, in our opinion has a great significance particularly, in terms of its sacred or special importance, since both the

"imagined" and "real" conquests that are envisaged in the above analysis emphasizes on a composite Chajukyan identity, that at its core was a social one.

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Having thus described the greatness of the ancestors through their valorous deeds in war along with the extended kingdom that contemporary king making the particular records inherited, we now take a look at how the king made attempts to extend his territorial control in the areas conquered by his ancestors. Further, we also look at the new military ventures undertaken by king to extend his sphere of control. Since these are recorded during the reign period of the king itself, they tend to provide certain authentic information mainly because now a "history" is not being written but command and authority is being asserted which, pragmatically could also be contested. Therefore, fictive claims could cost the king his kingdom. However, this does not mean that they were not written in a formulaic fashion. In the context of the descriptions of the achievements of the king, we noted that, unlike the above, there are only two methods in which the descriptions were made. One, those records that simply state that the king was "victorious in many battles" or, one who had "humbled the *samantas*" and so on. The second method was that which gave the list of all the places conquered by the king.

In this regard, we have noted that in TYPE I of Phase 1, there are about 41 examples that gave a general statement about the military achievements of the king, without, however, giving the names of the places or persons that he conquered (**Chart IIA, 1, 5, 7-11, 13, 18, 22-33, 39-41, 45, 62, 63, 67, 68, 70, 71, 77-85, 95**). Thus for instance, the Haidarabad⁴⁷ plates of Pulakesi II refer to the king's victory over hostile kings (**Chart IIA, 5**). Similarly, the Satara inscription of Kubja Visnuvardhana I of the Eastern Chajukyan family, describes the king as one who "eradicated the pride of men by his prowess" (**Chart IIA, 7**). It may be noted that a large majority of these examples belong to the Eastern Chajukyan family.

Contrary to the above examples for TYPE I genealogical pattern we have only about 10 instances where there is the mention of the names of places and kings, the ruling elite is said to have vanquished in war (**Chart IIA, 1, 3, 4, 6, 35-37, 42-44**). Interestingly, all these examples are traced from the western Deccan and belong to the Badami Chalukyan family. This may be illustrated from the following examples. The Badami⁴⁸ inscription of Pulakesi I refer to him as the 'maker of Vatapi'. On the other hand, in two other examples the king's conquest over the Kalachuri kingdom has been mentioned (**Chart IIA, 3, 4**). In one example, the conquest of king Harshavardhana, the lord of Uttarapatha (**Chart IIA, 6**) has been described in some depth. In six other examples, the king's victory over the Pallavas of Kafichi was highlighted (**Chart IIA, 35-37, 42-44**). Besides these, we have about 11 examples where the military achievements of the king are not mentioned at all. Thus we noted that very few places find mention among the conquests of the king.

However, the military titles, glorifying the military prowess of the king are many in TYPE I. For instance, we have come across twelve such titles. These are *Bhattachakasya*, *Paramabhattachakasya*, *Ranavikrahta* /*Uru Ranavikrahta*, *Vishamasiddhi*, *Sarvasiddhi*, *Sri Pra/ayaditya*⁴⁹, *Anivarita*⁵⁰, *Ranarasika*⁵¹, *RipuNarendra*⁵², *Makaradhva* and *Ripu Nripati*. Of these the epithet *Bhattachakasya* was mentioned in some 8 instances (**Chart IIA, 6, 75, 81-83**). On the other hand, the epithet *Paramabhattachakasya* (**Chart IIA, 95**) and *Makaradhva* has occurred in one instance each. In some examples, numbering about 6, the title *Vishamasiddhi* is found mentioned (**Chart IIA, 7, 8, 18, 45, 71, 77**). In other examples, we have come across the titles like *Sarvasiddhi* (**Chart IIA, 30, 31**), *Ranavikrahta* (**Chart IIA, 2, 9**) *Uru Ranavikrahta* (**IA, 3**) and *Sri Pra/ayaditya* (**Chart IIA, 40, 45**) that are mentioned in two instances each. Apart from these, we have noticed the use of epithets such as *Anivarita*, *RipuNripati* and *RipuNarendra* in about 4 instances that evidently describe the military prowess of the king (**Chart IIA, 25, 35-37**). On the other hand, the epithet *Ranarasika* is mentioned in 7 instances (**Chart IIA, 25, 35-37, 42-44**). The greater number of these military titles of the king taken together with those of his ancestors noted earlier in TYPE I, shows that when the genealogies of these families were short and

simple and the mention of military achievements significantly few, it apparently became important for the kings to express their greatness through acquiring these military titles.

On the other hand, in TYPE II of Phase 1, the number of examples that discussed the military achievements of the king in a detailed way substantially increased to 25 in contrast to only 9 in TYPE I genealogies. A large majority of these examples belong to the Kings of the Badami Chajukyan family. As a natural corollary to this development, the number of inscriptions referring to the general statements about the king's achievements came down drastically to only 13 when compared to 41 that were found mentioned in TYPE I. On the other hand, there is only a moderate change in the number of inscriptions that did not refer to the military accomplishments of the king at all which is noted in 20 examples. A majority of these examples can be traced back to the Eastern Deccan.

Some of the examples that illustrate these different patterns of recording delineated above are as follows. The earliest example that gives a detailed list of places conquered by the king is the famous Aihole⁵³ *prasasti* of Pulakesi II dated to 634 AD. In this inscription, the court poet Ravikirti renders an elaborate list of places and kings who are supposed to have been conquered by his patron. These are mentioned as Appayika and Govinda, two local chiefs, the Ganga and Alupa lords, the Mauryas of Korikana, Latas, Majavas, Gurjaras, Pallavas of Kanchipura, Chojas, Kerajas, Pandyas, KaHngas and Kosalas. It is further stated that his patron defeated Harsha, the lord of the Uttarapatha and conquered the hard-pressed fortress of Pistapura and Puri 'the Laksmi of the western sea coast' (**Chart IIA, 11**). Interestingly, this account is not found in any of the other later records of the same king or, even in the records of his successors, except for the mention of his victory over Harsha. Similarly, the Paniyal inscription of Vinayaditya dated to 682 AD mentions that the king had defeated the kings of Pallava, Kajabhra, Keraja, Haihaya, Vila, Majava, Chola, Pandya, Aluva and Gatigas. This same account is reproduced in two other inscriptions of the kings (**Chart IIA, 47, 48**). But interestingly, the subsequent inscriptions of the same king only refers to his Pallava conquest

omitting other information about his conquests (Chart IIA, 49-54). In the other examples belonging to Vijayaditya I of the Badami Chalukyan family, we notice that the king is described as having defeated Vatsaraja of the north. This incident is referred to in 9 examples of this king's inscriptions (Chart IIA, 55-60, 64-66). It is pertinent to note here that the Kendur inscription of Kirtivarman II ignores this incident, but instead, refers to the Pallava conquest of the king, which, however, is not mentioned in his own records. The other examples belonging to Vikramaditya II and Kirtivarman refer to their conquest over the Pallavas of Kanchi (Chart IIA, 69, 11-14,, 76).

In the examples of the Eastern Deccan, we have only three examples where the king's military conquests are highlighted. Thus for instance, the Sataluru⁵⁴ inscription of Gunaga Vijayaditya III, describes the king as having defeated the Rastrakuta king Govinda III (Chart IIA, 87). On the other hand, the Kakumranu⁵⁵ inscription of Chalukya Bhima I, describes the king as victorious in battles against the Kalingas, Kosalas, the kings of forest tracts (Atavija-nripatis), the lords of Odras, Udichyas and Prachyas, Latas, Avanti, Majayajas, along with the Konkanas, Chojas, and Pandyas (Chart IIA, 89). However, the Moga grant of the same king refers to only the Karnatas and the Latas whom the king apparently seems to have defeated (Chart IIA, 90), though his other subsequent records are silent about these incidents.

Interestingly, we noted that with an increase in the mention of the military conquests of the king, reference to the military titles comes down with only 5 such titles being mentioned in this TYPE compared to twelve in TYPE I examples. Thus for instance, in TYPE II, we have reference to the title *Bhattaraka* that has been mentioned in 23 instances (Chart IIA, 46-60, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76). In some 13 instances, we have reference to the title *Parama Bhattaraka* (Chart IIA, 104-113, 115-117). Apart from these two titles that are mentioned in a majority of examples, we have noted three other titles such as *Nfpatimartanda*⁵⁶ and *Ranaranga Sudraka*⁵⁷ (Chart IIA, 87) that indicate the military prowess of the kings.

From the above descriptions of our data for both TYPES I and II genealogies in Phase 1, we envisage two distinct stages of conquests and spatial expansion. One, when the State was just formed, under both the early Chalukyas of Badami in the western Deccan and the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi in the Eastern Deccan. The primary locus of these new state structures, was a local nuclear area from which the first political development was usually initiated. At this stage the immediate concern of the State was with the foundation and extension of chiefly power within a given nuclear area.⁵⁸ The next stage of state formation coincides with the emergence of the early kingdom, which saw a phase-wise penetration into and integration of the peripheral zones and, to a lesser extent, the acculturation of the neighboring nuclear areas.⁵⁹ This was achieved by the ruling elite either, through political conquests or, through the economic process of donating land grants to the *brahmanas*, or, still further, by entering into marriage alliances with other powerful kingdoms. 60 These two levels of State formation that are pertinently noticed among most of the regional kingdoms of the early medieval period that emerged as a result of the unleashing of the processes of continuous agrarian expansion and political integration was also apparent in the context of the present study.⁶¹

Thus, it has been pertinently noted that in TYPE I genealogies that are coterminous with the formation of the first Chalukyan State under the Badami Chalukyas and the second Chalukyan state under the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, the process of political development was centered around the local nuclear area. This is apparent from the information that we get from our data pertaining to this TYPE. It was thus noted in the Badami Cliff⁶² inscription that the first Chalukyan state was formed around the 6th century AD under Pulakesi I who made the fortress of Vatapi" as the core or nucleus of his newly founded kingdom. This obviously appears to be the nucleus of the early Chalukyan Badami State from which the initial political development had begun. References to the conquest of only few places, such as the Kalachuris, Pallavas, indicate that attempts were on to expand the kingdom away from the core-area. On the other hand, the second state formation of the Chalukyan family

took place under the Eastern Chajukyas of Vengi around the 7th century AD. One had pertinently noted that the inscriptions in TYPE I belonging to this family refer to the king's preoccupation with the subjugation of powerful local chiefs and *samantas*, in the core area of their control. The reasons for this may be suggested to the fact that the Eastern Chajukyas were alien to this region and therefore, had to confront hostile chiefs who did not recognize their supremacy for a long time. Thus, from an analysis of TYPE I genealogy, it is apparent that the initial competition for both the Chalukyan States emanated from the subordinate chiefs and other immediate neighboring kings in the area of their control rather than the foreign powers.

On the other hand, in TYPE II genealogies we have a greater number of examples that inform us about the process of expansion and consolidation of the State that now goes beyond their actual territorial control. Thus, in the context of the first Chalukyan State under Badami Chajukyas, it has been noted that their initial focus was on an expansion towards the west-coast that was known for its prosperity due to its hospitable coastline that helped in maritime trade.⁶³ Independent kingdoms of the Nalas, the Mauryas of Korikan, the Kadambas of Vanavasi, and the Kalachuris were ruling the western coast during this period. Earlier with reference to the military achievements of ancestors we noted that Kirtivarman I and Mangalesa were described as having conquered these territories. Control of these areas was made possible firstly, by appointing the trusted members of the family as governors of these newly conquered territories.⁶⁴

The expansionist policy initiated by the above kings was vigorously carried out by Pulakesi II. The Aihole inscription refers to his conquest of the Vanavasi, Alupas, Konkanas, Puri and Latas all situated on the western coast. Since these places were already mentioned as conquered by his predecessors, it now became important for him to have permanent control of these areas. This he achieved by giving land grants to *brahmanas* and this is known to us, through the location of inscriptions in this area. Interestingly, we found that

these inscriptions were suffixed to *prasastis* containing what we have described as TYPE I genealogies.

The next phase of expansion carried out by this king was directed towards the north, where he is said to have encountered the Gurjaras, the Malavas and the Pushyabhuti king Harshavardhana, who was regarded as the great monarch of north India. The northern conquests, however, did not result in the permanent acquisition of these territories but, at the same time their mention becomes important to assert a kind of imperial power of the king, something that none of his predecessors had accomplished. Similar was the case with his southern conquests against the Pandyas, Chojas, Pallavas, and Keralas where firm control was not established. On the contrary, the conquests in the eastern Deccan proved successful in controlling this region. The eastern Deccan during this time was ruled by the Salankayanas with Vengi as their nucleus. The rich and prosperous fertile plains of the Krishna-Godavari doab of the eastern Deccan attracted the attention of Pulakesi II. The Aihole inscription also mentions that he conquered both Vengi and Pistapura, and went up to Kajjiiga and Kosala. It further states that having conquered these territories, Pulakesi II installed his brother Kubja Visnuvardhana as an independent king of these newly acquired territories. Consequently, a new segment of the Chalukyan lineage was thus created under Kubja Visnuvardhana who migrated to the Eastern Deccan and founded a second Chajukyan State that came to be designated as the Eastern Chajukyan kingdom, with Vengi as its nucleus. Thus, we see that the conquests undertaken in Phase 1 of the present study basically appeared to be the story of spatial expansion into different sub-regions of the Deccan, each specific to their particular context and migrations into the territories that lay peripheral to the original core area namely, Badami or Vatapi.

From the records of other Chalukyan kings of Badami, we noted that their conquests were focussed towards the south, the kingdoms of the Pallavas, Chojas, Pandyas, Kerajas and Kalabhras, who formed the neighboring kings of

the Chalukyas in this direction. The frequent reference to these kingdoms reveals that the expansion and control of the south proved to be a difficult task, and further, indicates that the purpose of these conflicts was mainly intended to acquire political hegemony over each other rather than actual expansion. Thus, the early Chalukyan kings in TYPE II appears to have competed with important powers like the Alupas, Mauryas of Korikan, Latas, Malavas, Gurjaras in the west, Ganngas, Pallavas, Pandyas, Chojas and Kerajas in the south continuously to integrate and control these regions. Conquests of these areas are also frequently found mentioned especially with regard to ancestors. This indicates that the king had inherited these territories from his predecessors but to have strong control over an expanded territory and to prove his supremacy had to perpetually compete with the above powers. Further, reference to these territories repeatedly also indicate the concern to establish the present status in terms of drawing on the past. However, there are also other territories, which the king adds up to his inherited areas. In this regard, Aihole inscription refers to the conquests of places like Kajiriga, Pistapura, Vengi, etc., in the Eastern Deccan.

A similar trend of extending the territorial base of the State from the initial core area is also noticed under the Eastern Chalukyan State. Thus, in the Kakumranu⁶⁵ grant of Chalukya Bhima I, we have come across the conquest of places like Kalinga, Kosala, Odra, Atavija kings, Udichyan, Prachyan, Lata, Avanti, Malayaja, Korikana, Chola and Pandya. The kingdoms of Kajihga, Kosala and Odra formed the immediate north-eastern neighbors of the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom and therefore, the conquest of these places would have been possible. However, reference to other places like Lata, Avanti, Malayajs, Konkana, Choja and Pandya, we assume, were merely to show the "imagined" greatness of the king as a conqueror of the four quarters of the kingdom. We derive this assumption on the basis of the non-availability of inscriptions belonging to this family in these regions. The location of Udichyan and Prachyan has in fact, not been identified by scholars. Reference to these places only in the records of the king and their absence in the context of mentioning ne achievements of ancestors indicates a shift in the way pragmatism overtook

ideological factors in defining both political and identities. Significantly, most of these places mentioned in the records of both the Chalukyan families under discussion are located "outside" the core regions of their respective domains.

An interesting reference to *atavija nrpatins* or forest kings was made in one of the above examples (Chart IIA, 89). The same example also refers to Kubja Visnuvardhana I as having expelled one *atavi* Durjaya who was later appointed as the general in the Eastern Chajukyan army. This is an important reference as it critically speaks about the encounter between the Eastern Chalukyan State and the forest tribes. This conflict between the State and the forest tribes has been excellently brought out by Bharavi through his epic poem *Kiratarjuniyam*. Bharavi is said to have been a close ally of Kubja Visnuvardhana⁶⁶ and it was under his patronage that his literary work was accomplished. The central theme of this narrative, it could be suggested was Bharavi's attempt to glorify his patron by comparing his encounter with *atavi* Durjaya through selecting a minor episode from the epic *Mahabharata* that referred to the conflict between Siva disguised as Kirata (forest tribe inhabiting the Vindhyan forests⁶⁷) and Arjuna. In this duel, the former comes out victorious but impressed by the bravery of the latter the former as Lord Siva himself, bestows him with several boons.⁶⁸ This episode was used by the poet to draw a metaphoric comparison between his patron identified as Arjuna and the *atavi* Durjaya with Siva, wherein the latter could have easily defeated the former but ultimately, became his loyal general as noted in the Chipurupalle⁶⁹ inscription of Kubja Visnuvardhana. Through this episode therefore, Bharavi is trying glorify his patron by projecting his valor to which, even the God had to bow.⁷⁰ Further, the encounter is said to have taken place on the mount of Indrakila, which is associated with modern Vijayawada. An inscription dated to the 9th century AD along with a sculptured panel representing the duel between Arjuna and Siva have been found on the hill of Indrakila⁷¹. This narrative indicates two points. First, it suggests that it was not an easy task for the State to penetrate into the areas inhabited by the forest tribes. Second, these sources indicate that certain events were produced within the framework of power relations prevalent at the time.⁷²

In Phase 2, a different picture emerges. In this Phase where we have two TYPES of genealogies namely, TYPE III and TYPE IV, references to military achievements of the king as well as his acquisition of military titles are few. Thus, in the context of TYPE III, we noted that except for four examples, the rest of the inscriptions do not mention any military achievements of the king. Out of these four, in one instance the king is just referred to as "terrible to hostile kings" (**Chart IIB, 73**). On the other hand, in the Ranastipundi inscription of Vimaladitya dated to 1019 AD, the king is said to have defeated the Saurashtras, Sakas, Latas and Gurjaras (**Chart IIB, 7**). But the Handarike inscription of Vikramaditya VI dated to 1118 AD, elevates the achievements of the king by describing him as the conqueror of the entire earth bounded by Laiikapuri in the south and the Himalaya mountains in the north (**Chart IIB, 84**). However, the Terdal inscription of the same king, dated to 1123 AD describes the king's victories over the Gurjaras and the Chojas (**Chart IIB, 88**). The only military title that we come across in this TYPE is *Paramabhattacharaka* that has been mentioned in about 20 instances (**Chart IIB, 4, 11, 14, 19, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 57, 59-61, 66, 69, 73, 83, 84, 97, 98**).

This trend continues in the TYPE IV genealogical pattern of Phase 2, with only 5 instances out of 72 instances, where the reigning king's military achievements have been mentioned. In this regard, we have reference to the conquest of Rastrakutas (**Chart IIA, 119**), the Gurjaras (**Chart IIB, 2**), the Chojas (**Chart IIB, 3**) the Majavas (**Chart IIB, 8**), the Pallava- Nolambas (**Chart IIB, 32**). In another example, apart from the mention of conquest of the powerful Chojas and the Malavyas, the record also mentions other places like the Ahgas, Vangas, Khasas and Verigi, the Pandyas, Saurashtras, Kerajas, "urushkas, Cheras and Magadhas (**Chart IIB, 41**). In yet another the king is described as having crushed the Nepalas, the Gurjara and the Chojas (**Chart IIB, 65**). Just like in TYPE III, in TYPE IV too, the military prowess of the king is expressed through the title *Paramabhattacharaka*. This title has been mentioned in about 68 instances (**Chart IIA, 118-120**) (**Chart IIB, 1-3, 5, 6, 8-10,**

12-13, 15-18, 21-35, 37, 39-43, 45, 46, 58, 62-65, 67, 68, 70-72, 74-82, 85-90, 91, 93).

An interesting feature noted in TYPE IV genealogies is the incorporation of military achievements of the local chiefs. In this regard, we have come across 15 examples. Out of these, 12 examples mention the achievements of the local chief with such statements like "he was the scatterer of hostile armies in war" and other such similar phrases (Chart IIA, 119) (Chart IIB, 24, 27, 35, 38, 43, 55, 62, 64, 68, 74, 81). On the other hand, we have three more examples in which a list of places or kings which the local chief had subdued or fought valiantly against are highlighted. In this regard, in one instance, dated to 1053 AD it is stated that a local chief (*Dahdanayaka-Mahasamantadhipati*) had seized the fortunes of "the countries of Lita, Kamata, Karahata, Kajiriga, Koriga, Vanga and Vehgi" (Chart IIB, 40). In another example dated to 1066 AD, the local chief named Jemarasa was described as "the submarine fire to the ocean of Cholas and a flame of dawn to king Bhoja" (Chart IIB, 46).

In what is demarcated as Phase 2 of our study, we thus noted very few examples that refer to the military conquests of the king. This indicates that the military conquests of the king during this period were rather limited when compared to TYPE II when the State ventured into new areas having rich agrarian resource base. This Phase is also concomitant with the declining stage of the Eastern Chalukyan State and the formation, expansion and decline of the third Chalukyan State under the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani. This Phase is also connected with the emergence of mythical and semi-historical genealogies in the records of both these Chalukyan families, associating them with the legendary families of puranic and epic fame along with the high sounding imperial claims that served as legitimizing mechanisms. Thus, in one example of TYPE III, there was a conscious attempt to elevate the achievements of the king by describing him as the conqueror of the entire earth bounded by Lankapuri in the south and the Himalaya mountains in the north. This surely indicates an attempt to claim suzerainty over the whole of the country, which comprised the *Cakravarti-ksetra*. In this regard, D. C. Sircar notes that such

claims became a common feature during the early medieval period. He further, observed that during this period many regional kings equated their conquest of even a petty rival as a *dig-vijaya* type of *Cakravarb'n*.⁷³ Such representations have in fact emerged particularly, in times of political instability and reflects the concern of the ruling elite to seek pan-Indian identity. In the present case study, this trend continues into the genealogical patterns of TYPE IV in Phase 2. Though we have come across only five instances out of 72 that refer to military achievements of the king, the places that have been mentioned as conquered by the king makes us believe that these in the form of formulaic statements and lists to enhance the glory of the king. Thus for instance, the conquest of places such as the Aigias, Varigas, Khasas, Turushkas, Magadhas and the Nepalas were only eulogistic claims referring to by the so-called imperial power of the king. But in reality the territorial limits of the kingdom was often limited to the core region in these cases. This can be attested by the distribution pattern of TYPE III and TYPE IV genealogies that are found to be located only in and around the core regions. Further, from the account we get from the above descriptions of TYPE III, it is evident that major contending powers with whom the Eastern Chajukyas apparently seems to have encountered are the Saurastrikas, Latas, Sakas and Gurjaras in the case of Eastern Chajukyas of Vengi. On the other hand, in TYPE IV, we noted that the Western Chajukyas competed with the Rastrakutas, the Gurjaras, the Chojas, the Majavas, the Pallava-Nolambas, Arigas, Vaiigas, Khasas, Vengi, Pandyas, Saurashtras, Keralas, Turushkas, Cheras, Magadhas, the Nepalas, the Gurjara and the Chojas.

An important development during Phase 2 was the description of the military achievements of the local chiefs. The role of these chiefs particularly, during the period when warfare has become a recurrent feature, has been glorified and their services were duly recognized in the *prasastis* of inscriptions. Talbot considers that rendering of military service by the local chief was important to forge bonds between the overlord and subordinate.⁷⁴ However, we feel that the imperial claims made by local chiefs indicate to their rising political status. They therefore, tried to imitate the king in glorifying his high claims of military conquest. Thus, by the end of Phase 2, we find the emergence of local

political identities that tried to establish control of the small locality through the political and ideological claims they made.

IV

In the foregoing paragraphs, we discussed the conquests and consequent spatial expansion of Kingdoms undertaken by the king and his ancestors. However, these provide only one dimension of control. Another way of enhancing control, authority and sovereignty was by assuming high sounding royal or administrative titles and by acquiring political symbols or royal insignia. The symbols of royal insignia were usually inherited by the king either from his predecessor, seized from an enemy, and still further, bestowed to him by an overlord in recognition of services.⁷⁵ Cynthia Talbot regards these titles (*birudas*) and symbols as a synopsis of a lineage's achievements and as a summary of a person's claim to fame⁷⁶. In the early medieval context, the main concern of the ruling elite seems to be in assuming high sounding royal or administrative titles as these were indicative of their respective status in society. Hence, our next focus in this Chapter is to analyze these titles and political symbols as referred to in different TYPES of genealogies.

In the context of the TYPE I genealogical pattern in Phase 1, we noted five different types of titles with which the ancestor came to be referred with. These are mentioned as *Nrpah* ('the king') (Chart IIA, 3, 7, 13), *Maharaja* ('the great king')⁷⁷ that is mentioned in about 37 examples (Chart IIA, 5, 8-10, 18, 19, 22-25, 27, 29-33, 38-45, 62, 63, 67, 68, 70, 77, 78-83, 86) and *Maharajadhiraja* ('the supreme king of the great kings')⁷⁸ that is mentioned in 12 instances (Chart IIA, 20, 21, 25, 27, 28, 35-37, 42-44, 75). Besides these, we have other laudatory titles like *Sri/ Pfithvivallabha*⁷⁹ and *Sarvalokasraya*⁸⁰. The former is mentioned in 7 instances (Chart IIA, 3, 8, 19, 27, 42-44) and the latter is mentioned in 6 instances (Chart IIA, 62, 63, 77, 78-80). However, in this TYPE, the political symbols that may have been acquired by the ancestors are not recorded in the inscriptions. This indicates that when the political control during the initial stages of the formation of the State under the early Chajukyas of Badami and the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi

was limited, reference to high sounding titles of the ancestors and political symbols that were acquired also appeared to have been limited.

In contrast, in the TYPE II genealogical pattern, there is only a single reference to such title, namely, *Rajah*⁶¹ (**Chart IIA, 11**). On the other hand, royal or administrative titles like *Maharaja*, *Maharajadhiraja* and *Sri Pfithvivallabha* are found in several examples. In this regard, we noted that the title *Maharaja* was mentioned in 27 examples against reference to 37 examples in TYPE I (**Chart IIA, 34, 46-61, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76, 96, 97**). However, reference to the title *Maharajadhiraja* considerably increased from 12 in TYPE I to 25 in the TYPE II examples (**Chart IIA, 34, 46-61, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76**). Similarly, the epithet *Sri Pfithvivallabha* is mentioned in 24 examples compared to its sparse use in TYPE I (**Chart IIA, 34, 46-61, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76**). Besides these, we also have other epithets like *Jagadekahtah* (**Chart IIA, 11**), *Rajalokasraya* (**Chart IIA, 34**), *Bhupateh*⁸² (**Chart IIA, 95, 96**) and *Samasta Bhuvanasraya*⁸³ (**Chart IIA, 0**), that indicated to their sovereign authority presumably over the entire earth. These highly eulogistic imperial titles of the king's ancestors are further accompanied by the mention of their acquisition of the political symbols and royal insignia through defeating the kings of north India. We noted this information particularly, with reference to kings Vinayaditya and Vijayaditya of the Badami Chajukyan dynasty. Reference to Vinayaditya's acquisition of *pajidhvaja* and other symbols of sovereignty are mentioned in 14 examples (**Chart IIA, 55-60, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76**). On the other hand, in about 5 examples (**Chart IIA, 69, 72-74, 76**) Vijayaditya is said to have acquired the symbols of *Gariga-Yamuna*, *Pajidhvaja*, *dhakka* and *mahasabdas* after defeating the kings of the north. Only in one instance, he was just referred to have obtained the symbols of sovereignty (**Chart IIA, 61**). This suggests to us that with the expansion of the territorial control of the earliest Chajukyan family ruling from Badami, the need to project the achievements of the ancestors by linking them to pan-Indian symbols of authority began to emerge by the second half of Phase 1.

It is of some significance to note that in the context of TYPE III and TYPE IV genealogical patterns in Phase 2, reference to the royal or administrative titles of the ancestors are completely absent. However, the political symbols mentioned for the TYPE III genealogical pattern appears interesting. Unlike in TYPE II, where the individual king was supposed to have obtained the political symbols by the sheer exhibition of his military prowess, in TYPE III, we notice that the Chalukyas are said to have obtained these political symbols through the favor of Gods and Goddesses. Further, in TYPE III we have a greater number of symbols than those mentioned in TYPE II. Dynastic variations are perceptible in these descriptions. Thus, for instance, in some records of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani, the Chalukyas are supposed to have obtained the white umbrella (*svetatapatra*) and other totems of sovereignty through the favor of Goddess Kausiki. Similarly, they are stated to have acquired the banners bearing representations of a peacock's tail and a spear (*Mayura pirnchha* and *kurithadhvaja*) through the favor of Lord Karttikeya, and the symbol of the boar-crest from the holy Narayana (**Chart IIB, 4, 14, 57, 59, 69, 86**). On the contrary, in the examples coming from the Eastern Deccan, it is found mentioned that a certain Visnuvardhana Vijayaditya after appeasing the Gods Kumara (Skanda), Narayana (Visnu) and the divine Mothers (Matrigana), obtained through their favors, the following symbols. These are mentioned as the white parasol (*svetatapatra*), the single conch (*aikasarnkha*), the five *mahasabdas* (*panca mahasabda*), the flags in row (*Paliketana*), drum (*pratidhakka*), the sign of the boar (*varahalarpachhana*), peacock's tail (*pirnchha*), the spear (*kuntha*), the arch of *makara* (*makaratorana*), the golden sceptre (*kanakadanda*) and the signs of Ganga and Yamuna (*Ganga-Yamunadi samrajya chihna*) (**Chart IIB, 7, 11, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 60, 62, 66, 97, 98**). Besides, there are 7 examples where there is no mention of these symbols (**Chart IIB, 10, 73, 84, 87, 91, 96, 97**).

In the light of the above descriptions it is pertinent to note that while in Phase 1, the imperial titles of the ancestors appear grandiloquent, those in Phase 2 they are completely absent. This suggests that during the process of the rise and expansion of territorial control, it became important for the state

to eulogize the past achievements as these become important pointers for validation of political authority. On the other hand, in Phase 2, the political control was in a stage of disintegration and this created the need to legitimize, not by referring to the actual events of the past, but by seeking divine intervention through which the greatness of the family could be enhanced. This is evident from examples enumerated above dealing with the acquisition of political symbols from different Gods and Goddesses in TYPE III.

Apart from the ancestors, the contemporary king also assumed high sounding royal titles and acquired political symbols that indicated his political status. In this regard, we notice a clear change in the way the king is being described in each TYPE of genealogical pattern. In the context of TYPE I, we notice titles such as *Vallabhesvara*^{8*} (**Chart IIA, 1**), *Nīpah* (**Chart IIA, 3**), *Rajah* (**Chart IIA, 4**) mentioned in one instance each. These titles appeared at the time when the Chajukyan kingdom was at the initial stages of its formation and had just risen in the Western part of the Deccan. Gradually, the title *Maharaja* came into use indicating the concomitant rise in the political authority of the king. In this regard, we have noted 31 instances, where the king came to be referred to with this title (**Chart IIA, 5, 8-10, 12, 17, 18, 20-24, 26, 29-33, 38, 39, 41, 45, 62, 63, 67, 68, 70, 71, 84-86**). However, simultaneously, in about 21 inscriptions we also notice the use of the title *Maharajadhiraja* that indicates to a clearly enhanced position of the king politically and militarily (**Chart IA, 6, 15, 16, 19, 25, 27, 28, 35-37, 42-44, 75, 77-83**). In just one instance, the title *Yuvarajah* has been used (**Chart IIA, 7**) indicating perhaps that the king was still a prince. Apart from these royal titles, we have other political epithets such as *Sri/Pfithvivallabha* that was mentioned in about 19 instances (**Chart IIA, 3, 5, 9, 10, 16, 20-25, 27, 28, 35-37, 42-44**), *Sarvalokasraya* (**Chart IIA, 33, 41, 62, 63, 84, 85, 95**) and *Samasta Bhuvanasraya* (**Chart IIA, 77, 79, 80-83, 86**) that came to be used in seven instances each. However, with reference to political symbols we found only two examples where the king is said to have acquired the *panca mahasabdas* (**Chart IIA, 6, 39**) in the genealogical pattern of TYPE I.

On the other hand, in TYPE II we notice that while the titles such as *Rajah* and *Vallabhesvara* are completely absent, other titles like *Nfipah* (**Chart IIA, 89**) and *Maharaja* are referred to only in a few examples (**Chart IIA, 34, 93, 94**). Instead, one notices that, in this TYPE, there is a marked increase in using the title *Maharajadhiraja* that has been found mentioned in about 46 out of 57 examples (**Chart IIA, 46-61, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76, 90-92, 95-99, 101, 104-113, 115-117**). Similarly, even the mention of the titles *Sri/Pfithvivallabha* increased from 14 instances in TYPE I to 24 instances in TYPE II (**Chart IIA, 46-61, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76**). Likewise, the title *Sarvalokasraya* has been mentioned in 9 instances compared to its occurrence in only two instances, in TYPE I (**Chart IIA, 90-94, 96, 104**). Besides, one has also noticed reference to other titles such as *Samasta Bhuvanasraya* (**Chart IIA, 101, 105-113, 115-117**), *Samasta Lokasraya* (**Chart IIA, 100**), *Bhupateh* (**Chart IIA, 88**), *Tribhuvanamalla* (**Chart IIA, 100, 102, 103, 114**) and *Samanta Chudamani* (**Chart IIA, 101, 102, 114**) that described the royal or administrative authority of the king. This clear pattern of change observed in the way titles of the king emerged in TYPE II cases during Phase 2 is suggestive of ascendancy in his political status. This is further suggested by a simultaneous acquisition of political symbols by the king that are mentioned in about 12 instances out of 57, in this TYPE of genealogical pattern. Out of these, in 9 examples the king was said to have obtained the symbols of Gariga-Yamuna, *Palidhvaja*, *Dhakka*, *mahasabdas* and all other mighty insignia of supreme dominion after defeating the kings of the north (**Chart IIA, 55-60, 64-66**). Only in one example of the same king he was just referred to have obtained symbols of sovereignty (**Chart IIA, 61**) and in two other examples only the symbol of *pancamahasabda* has been found mentioned (**Chart IIA, 112, 114**).

We analyzed the above descriptions of assuming high sounding royal or administrative titles and acquisition of political symbols, by associating these with successive stages of political development corresponding to the rise, expansion and consolidation of the political power of the Chajukyan families under discussion. Thus, when the first and second Chajukyan states under the

Badami and Vengi Chajukyas was in its incipient stage of rise, we found titles like *raja* and *nripah* that denoted 'a king' probably only as one among several kings indicating only a subsidiary status in the earliest examples as found in TYPE I genealogies. However, the later records frequently refer to the title *Maharaja*. This indicates that the early kingdom had begun to slightly enlarge its territory, and this concomitantly led to the rise in the status of the king. Further, it has been earlier noticed that during this stage the military conquests of both the king and his ancestor was confined only to the areas surrounding the core-area of the respective Chajukyan kingdoms. Thus, one can suggest that when the political control of the ruling family is narrow, the genealogies and other claims for political authority remain small and realistic. This also explains as to why we do not find any mention of political symbols in the TYPE I examples. Further, references to other titles like *Maharajadhiraja*, *Sri Prithvivallabha*, *Samatabhuvanasraya*, and so on that are comparatively more high sounding and assertive in later records of TYPE I, and with an increased number in TYPE II are suggestive of a process of transition of the State from being an early kingdom to becoming a larger territorial entity. This has been indicated to us from elaborate references to military conquests undertaken by the king. This characterization of the State can be dated to the later half of Phase 1. The impact of this is also seen in the acquisition of such symbols as those of Gahga and Yamuna that made exaggerated claims for the first time of territorial sovereignty over the doab between the Ganges and the Yamuna when in fact, the Deccan States could hardly have in reality conquered these lands. Similarly, other royal insignia like the *paliketana* or the *Pajidhvaja* banner began to represent a sort of 'imperial' dignity. Further, the assumption of the title '*samadhigata- panchamahasabda*', stressed yet again on a special mark of paramountcy. The symbols of the Gariga and the Yamuna as well as the *Pajidhvaja* were unknown in the Deccan before the third quarter of the 7th century AD. But their appropriation by Vinayaditya and his son Vijayaditya from the paramount lords of the entire Uttarapatha was probably intended to denote their claims for supremacy and an asserting of sovereignty over Northern India⁸⁵ to seek a pan-Indian identity.

In contrasting these tendencies with those found in TYPE III genealogical pattern during Phase 2, reference to the acquisition of political symbols by the king is totally absent. However, there is continuity with the way in which royal or administrative titles mentioned in TYPES I and II were found. Thus for instance, in TYPE III genealogies too, we noted titles such as *Maharajadhiraja*, *Sarvalokasraya*, *Samasta Bhuvanasraya*, *Sri Prithvivallabha* and *Tribhuvanamalla*. The epithet *Maharajadhiraja* was the most frequently used expression and noted in as many as 23 instances out of 28 (**Chart IIB, 4, 10, 11, 14, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 57, 60, 61, 66, 71, 73, 83, 84, 86, 88, 97, 98**). Apart from this, we have in 14 instances where reference to the epithet *Sarvalokasraya* has been made (**Chart IIB, 7, 11, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 60, 61, 66, 97, 98**). On the other hand, the epithet *Samasta Bhuvanasraya* has been found mentioned in 7 instances (**Chart IIB, 14, 59, 73, 83, 84, 86, 88**) and *Sri Prithvivallabha* was found mentioned in 6 instances (**Chart IIB, 59, 73, 83, 84**). Besides these, we have other titles like *Tribhuvanamalla* (**Chart IIB, 4, 59, 73, 83, 84**), *Jagadekamalla* (**Chart IIB, 14**) and *Rajaraja* that occur occasionally (**Chart IIB, 97, 98**).

Similarly, even in TYPE IV, some of the above-mentioned titles/epithets such as *Samasta Bhuvanasraya*, *Sri Prithvivallabha*, *Maharajadhiraja*, and *Parama Bhattaraka* have been found to be invariably mentioned in all the examples (**Chart IIA, 118-120**) (**Chart IIB, 1-3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15-18, 21-35, 37, 39-43, 45-52, 55, 56, 58, 62-65, 67, 69, 70-72, 74-82, 85, 87, 89, 90, 92-94**). Apart from these, we have an epithet *Sri Rajaraja* in only one instance (**Chart IIB, 3**). But this tendency in using the above-mentioned titles/epithets, has to be noted in TYPE IV alongside another tendency wherein each individual king came to be identified with an 'imperial' title he personally assumed.

This process of assuming personal titles indicating the 'imperial' authority of the king started from the reign of Vikramaditya V of the Kalyani Chalukyan family. From then onwards, the names of all the kings have come to be suffixed

with epithets such as *Tribhuvanamalla*, *Trailokyamalla*⁸⁷, *Bhulokamalla*⁸⁸, *Bhuvanaikamalla*⁸⁹ and so on. The ending "malla" in all these epithets would imply that they wanted to enhance their "warrior" like qualities, since the term "malla" in Kannada is equated to a 'wrestler'.⁹⁰ Thus, we have the epithet *Tribhuvanamalla* being used by kings Vikramaditya V (**Chart IIB, 4-6, 8, 9**), Vikramaditya VI (**Chart IIB, 58, 62-65, 67, 68, 70-72, 74-82, 85, 87, 89**) and Somesvara IV. Similarly, the epithet *Jagadekamalla* has been used by Kings Jayasirpha II (**Chart IIB, 10, 12, 13, 15-18, 21-26**), Perma Jagadekamalla II (**Chart IIB, 92, 93**) and Jagadekamalla III. Further, king Somesvara I was referred to as *Trailokyamalladevara* and *Ahavamalla* (**Chart IIB, 27-35, 37, 40-43, 45, 46**), Somesvara II as *Bhuvanaikamalla* (**Chart IIB, 47-52, 55, 56**) and Somesvara III as *Bhulokamalla* (**APPENDIX III**). Thus, objective of identifying the king through these personalized imposing titles is suggestive of an attempt to manifest the king as an apparent controller of universal territory sometimes equated with *cakravarti-ksetra* including the entire world or *Bharatavarsha*.

However, interestingly these high claims were not accompanied by the political symbols that have been usually found alongside the other titles found in many of the examples described above. Nonetheless, in the *prasastis* of the local chiefs found in the inscriptions that give details of the TYPE IV genealogical pattern, one has noticed about 35 examples in which the local chief was mentioned as having obtained the *panca mahasabdas*. Thus in some 15 examples, we have noticed the king's General *Mahasamantadhipati* as having attained the *panca-mahasabdas* (**Chart IIB, 8, 24, 26, 39, 43, 52, 56, 58, 62, 67, 74, 75, 85, 87, 92**). In some other instances, the records stated that *Mahamandalesvara* obtained the *panca-mahasabdas* (**Chart IIB, 17, 18, 23, 35, 50, 51, 55, 64, 89**). In yet another example, we have noted the mention of the king's General (*Dandanayaka*) as having obtained the *panca-mahasabdas* (**Chart IIB, 9**).

In the light of the above descriptions in Phase 2, we noticed that in **both** TYPES III and IV genealogical patterns royal titles like *Maharajadhiraja*, *Sri Pfithvivalabha* and *Samasta Bhuvanasraya* began to find regular mention. It may be recalled here that military conquests of the king in this Phase are few, and in some cases, there were attempts to higher imperial claims such as depicting the king as the ruler of the entire world. This clearly indicates to the formation of States with substantial territorial claims without a semblance of political and administrative authority. Territories, in fact, were more locally controlled through a series of subordinates. Thus, the political symbols that have been mentioned in TYPE III genealogical patterns can be categorized as more conventional than real. However, mention of political symbols acquired by local chiefs appears to throw up interesting tendencies. Usually, in **the** examples of TYPE IV, we noted that these local chiefs were bestowed with *pancamahasabdas* as a mark of special distinction for their services. In the South Indian context, this title seems to refer to the privilege allowed by the overlord to enjoy the sounds of five kinds of musical instruments. These five instruments have been identified by some authorities as the trumpet, tambour, conch-shell used as a horn, kettledrum and gong. Nonetheless, it clearly implies that these symbols gave some extra power or authority not only to the chiefs but also other persons of high rank and authority.⁹¹

The supremacy of the king and his ancestors achieved through accomplishments in war and assumptions of high sounding military and royal and administrative titles is further enriched by outlining the physical attributes of the king. This was done by the court poets who used such titles/ epithets that compared their patron with gods and epic heroes and these came to be used as symbols representing the divine and heroic qualities of the king, respectively. However, it was significantly noted that these attributes with reference to ancestors of the king is absent in all the four TYPES of genealogies.

In the context of TYPE I genealogies, we have come across two examples that compare the king with both Gods and epic heroes. This is evident to us from the following titles that are suffixed with the names of Gods and epic heroes. Thus, we have epithets such as *Trivikrama*⁹² (**Chart IIA, 8**), and

*Rajamahendha*⁹³ (**Chart IIA, 95**) mentioned in one instance each. On the other hand, in TYPE II genealogies, we get many more such titles but these are found mentioned in only five examples. Thus, we have titles such as *Arasanka Kesari*⁹⁴, *Birudarika Bhima*⁹⁵, *Tripuramartya Mahesvara*⁹⁶, *Parachakrarama*⁹⁷ (**Chart IIA, 87**) all mentioned in one example. On the other hand, in three other instances we noted titles such as *Udatta Narayanan*⁹⁸ (**Chart IIA, 102, 103, 114**). In two examples, we have reference to *Saranagata Vajra Pamjaram*" (**Chart IIA, 102, 103**). Similarly, we have titles like *Raja trinetra*¹⁰⁰, *Sahasa Rama*¹⁰¹ (**Chart IIA, 100**) and *Vikramarjuna*¹⁰² (**Chart IIA, 114**) that have been mentioned in one instance each. In the context, of TYPE III genealogies during Phase 2, we have only one example where the king is described with such epithets, namely, *Bhupa Mahendra*, *Birudarika Bhima* and *Tribhuvanankusa* (**Chart IIB, 7**). Similarly, such titles are completely absent in TYPE IV genealogies. Evidently, all these titles mentioned here featured not god like attributes of the king, but rather, indicate to their forceful subjection of others¹⁰³ and thus tried to project the king as a divine model.

Apart from these above-mentioned titles, we also noted a few epithets that refer to the physical and educational qualities of the king that in fact came to define his character, physical features and talents. In the context of TYPE I genealogies, we noted titles such as *Satyasraya*¹⁰⁴ that has been mentioned in about 8 instances (**Chart IIA, 10, 16, 25, 27, 35, 37, 42, 43**), *Kamadhenu* (**Chart IIA, 8**) *Sri-Tyagadhenu*¹⁰⁵ (**Chart IIA, 38**) and *Gandaraganda*¹⁰⁶ (**Chart IIA, 42**) that were found mentioned in one instance each. Examples of this kind continue to find mention in TYPE II genealogies. The only common epithet found in both TYPE I and TYPE II is *Satyasraya* and in the latter TYPE it is found in as many as 31 instances (**Chart IIA, 47-61, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76**). Apart from this, we have reference to other titles such as *Manuju Prakara*¹⁰⁷, *Vikramadhava*.*la*¹⁰⁸ (**Chart IIA, 87**), *Gunakanalla*¹⁰⁹ (**Chart IIA, 87, 88**), *Ammanagandha*, *Gunarnavam*¹¹⁰, *Priyagaljam*¹¹¹ (**Chart IIA, 102, 103, 114**), *Arudha sarva Jnan*¹¹², *Guna Nidhi*¹¹³ (**Chart IIA, 102, 103**) that were probably used to denote the personal qualities of the king. However, in the context of TYPE III, we found only the epithet *Satyasraya* (**Chart IIB, 44**) that

was used to describe the qualities of the king. Similarly, in the context of TYPE IV too, we have only one epithet *Akalamkacarita*¹¹⁴ (**Chart IIB, 3**).

Thus, in the descriptions of the above titles alluding to attributes and qualities of the king, we have a greater number of references in Phase 1. By Phase 2, they are clearly reduced. This suggests that the need to project the king as an embodiment of virtues and knowledge was greater in Phase 1 than in Phase 2. Further, most of the examples referred to above, belonged to the minor Chalukyan family of Vemulavada, who were holding a subordinate position under the Rastrakutas. This clearly shows how a subordinate family, controlling a small locality, wished to enhance its position through exaggerated titles that reflected the moral character as well as the educational qualities of its kings. However, read alongside the other types of titles- military, royal, administrative- that also form part of the *prasastis* defining the genealogies of families, it seems that the latter type were more rampant in Phase 2. This is also the period when there is a greater use mythological symbols to explain the origin of families and perhaps, for this reason, a lack of interest in defining individual moral attributes.

At the level of social relations, the obvious pointer to this process of consolidating control was through establishing a stable marriage network among the royal families. The information available from inscriptions for the Chajukyan families is unfortunately rather limited. Even so, when in the genealogical lists, a few cases of marriage alliances are mentioned, it may be assumed with certainty that they have been recorded because of their significant political implications for the family. One can further observe that there is a change in the marriage network pattern as it emerges, since not only was the supposed origin of a family an unimportant aspect to be taken in for consideration, but there was also a development towards an understandable pattern of inter-clan relationship.¹¹⁵

In this context, not much study has been undertaken so far to understand the politico-social significance of marriage networks, among various ruling families. This absence has been explained due to the lack of information on these aspects in the inscriptional sources of the early medieval period. However, despite the limited nature of this information available through inscriptions, scholars such as B. D. Chattopadhyaya and Surajit Sinha have attempted to study the marriage networks that were established among various Rajput clans. In this regard, Chattopadhyaya pertinently postulates that the main intention of the ruling elites in recording the marriage alliances was because it had political implications for the family. Thus, according to him, "this pattern of marriage networks was secured as essentially political as it provided social legitimacy to such groups who had acquired sufficient political power during the early medieval period".¹¹⁶ Similarly, Surajit Sinha observes that marriage alliances with strong political power was necessary in getting political and social legitimization and secondly, to maintain kinship relations. Kinship relations are maintained through genealogical connections of a kin's father and mother. It has been pointed out that marriage networks were crucial for engendering power relations of various ruling families.¹¹⁷

Hence, considering marriage networks as a necessary adjunct for consolidation and control of political authority, an attempt has been made in this regard to see the establishment of marriage networks as a significant social variable for the present study and analysis. Though this information is limited yet, it shows different patterns in referring to marriage alliances between various ruling families and these have been observed with reference to the contemporary king and his ancestors, as well as, those pertaining to the local chiefs. In the first pattern, we notice reference to marriages where the family to which the queen belonged is mentioned. This is crucial as it underlines the actual purpose for establishing socio-political linkages with other powerful ruling dynasties. In the second pattern, we have information that just refers to the name of the queen without giving any other details of the family to which she belonged. Non-mention of the queen's family, we presume, is perhaps because she belonged to a local family that was well-known and the writer of the grant found it unnecessary to actually mention it. However, the very fact these marriage alliances are mentioned repeatedly show that they are important socially, if not politically.

In the context of the TYPE I genealogical pattern in Phase 1, we notice 2 examples that describe the marriage alliance of the predecessor of the king with powerful kings of other dynasties. Thus, for instance, in one example the record mentions the marriage of king's father with the princess of the Bappura family (Chart IIA, 3) and in another example it is mentioned with the princess of the Kalachuri dynasty of the Haihaya race (Chart IIA, 75). On the other hand, with regard to the contemporary king we have only one example in this TYPE where the record mentions a marriage alliance of the contemporary king, namely, Visnuvardhana III with the Pallava princess named Pthvipori (Chart IIA, 67). There are two other examples that refer to the same marriage alliance of the prince of the main ruling family but, in this regard, the family name of the queen is not furnished (Chart IIA, 20, 21).

It is pertinent to note at this juncture that the marriage alliance with the Bappuras, who were probably the neighboring local chiefs, may have helped the ruling chiefs of the early Chajukyan family to carve an independent kingdom. Further, the strong kinship relations between these two families is known from the fact that a scion of this family was appointed as the governor of Konkan after it was conquered by Kirtivarman I.¹¹⁸ Kirtivarman I is also said to have married a princess of the Sendraka family that held a subordinate position in the Banavasi province of the Kadambas.¹¹⁹ This marriage alliance enabled him to expand the Chalukyan kingdom towards the south at the expense of the Kadambas.¹²⁰ Among the military conquests of the ancestors, we next found that the early Badami Chalukyan kings fought with the Kaiachuris who ruled over vast areas comprising Malwa, Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra in western and central India.¹²¹ In the context of the above descriptions on marriage alliances we found references to the Kaiachuris of Haihaya race with whom, the Chalukyas also entered into kinship ties relationship. The Haihaya race of the Kalachuri dynasty claimed their genealogical descent from Yadu, the eldest son of Yayati of *Purana* fame.¹²² Yadu, so the legend tells us was sent to govern the territories to the south-west of *madhya-desa*. The descendents of Yadu came to be known as Yadavas,

whose genealogies formed the narrative of the *Candravamsa* lineage along with PuO from whom the later Chajukyan families claimed descent.¹²³ In a sense this marriage alliance between the Haihayas and the Chajukyias not only enabled the latter to control a vast territorial space, but also was probably done in support of emphasizing common genealogical linkages of the two families from the *Candravamsa* lineage. Yet another family with which the king of the Eastern Chajukyan family seems to have contracted marriage alliance was with the Pallavas. The Pallavas were a powerful ruling family of South India with Kanchi as their capital. They claim to belong to the *Candravamsa* lineage and sought a curious genealogical identity through a *brahma-ksatra* origin.¹²⁴ At a time when their power was completely crushed on account of incessant warfare with the Badami Chajukyias and the Eastern Chajukyias of Vengi, the Pallava king Maghinduvaraja had comprised by giving his daughter in marriage to the Chajukyan ruler. This helped the Eastern Chajukyan dynasty to have temporary control over the southern regions held under the Pallavas. Further, here too we can notice that the Chajukyias entered into marriage relations with a family that claimed its mythical origins in a *Candravamsa* lineage, which is what they also claimed in their genealogical narratives.

In the context of the TYPE II genealogical pattern, we found 17 examples that refer to marriage alliances of the ancestors of the king in contrast to 2 examples found in TYPE I (**Chart IIA, 89, 96-98, 101, 105-113, 115-117**). In this regard, we found that, in most cases, it is often the same incident that is repeated without, however, furnishing the name of the queen's family. Thus for instance, in 11 examples Lokamahadevi was mentioned as the wife of Chajukya Bhima II (**Chart HA, 101, 105-113, 115**) and in two examples Melamba is mentioned as wife of Vijayaditya IV (Chajukya Bhima I). On the other hand, there are 2 other examples that refer to the marriage alliance of the king's predecessor with the princess of the Kajihga family (**Chart IIA, 116-117**). In one example, the king's predecessor's marriage is recorded with the daughter of a local chief (**Chart IIA, 89**).

Examples with reference to the marriage of the king, however, are few compared to his ancestors in TYPE II. In this regard, we noted only 4 examples (Chart IIA, 88, 102, 104, 114). Further, we noted that in all these examples, the dynastic name of the queen has been given. Thus, for instance, in three separate examples the different kings of the Chajukyan family are mentioned to have married the princesses of the Rashtrakuta dynasty (Chart IIA, 88, 102, 114). In another instance, ruling king's marriage alliance with the powerful Pattavardhani family of local importance has been mentioned (Chart IIA, 104). In still another example the princess of the Chajukyan family was given in marriage to the king of the Alupa family (Chart IIA, 59).

From these examples we come to know that the Chalukyas primarily established inter-clan relations with the Rastrakutas, Alupas, the kings of Kaliriga and the Pattavardhanis who were local chiefs. Earlier when describing military conquests we noted that the Chajukyan kings were also incessantly at war with the Rastrakutas during this period. It may be noted that by the second half of Phase 1, the Rastrakutas emerged as the strong force by replacing the Chalukyas of Badami in Western Deccan. They traced their genealogy to Yadu lineage of the *Sdmavarnsa*¹²⁵ and claimed that they belonged to the *ksatriya varna*. They had become a constant danger for the Eastern Chalukyas and threatened the stability of their kingdom. However, the Chalukyas perhaps strategized that this could be minimized to some extent by marriage alliances with this family. On the other hand, the Chajukyan kings were said to have conquered the Alupas and the Kajifigas during this period. The Alupas were said to be a subordinate family ruling over the Banavasi area. It is also mentioned that Pulakesi II, after displacing the Kadamba family, had given a part of it to the Alupa king.¹²⁶ On the other hand, the Pattavardhanis belonged to a warrior family, who rendered loyal services to the Eastern Chajukyan family from the time of Kubja Visnuvardhana, the founder of the Eastern Chajukyan family.¹²⁷ These marriage relationships in TYPE II clearly indicate that the Chalukyas got into marriage alliances with the kings whom

they conquered or by whom they were over-powered at certain periods of time. In both cases the intention of controlling new areas of extended political influence or to minimize the border tension and keep the boundaries in tact were the pragmatic aims. Thus, from an analysis of TYPES I and II in Phase 1, we postulate that the early Chalukyan rulers had entered into marriage alliance with other competing powers apparently outside the actual territorial control not merely to assert their "pan-regional" identity, but more importantly to perpetuate their social relationships especially with those families that have common lineage patterns. This means that horizontal spread of kinship ties were effected but at the same time the "core social identity" of the family remained intact.

Interestingly, in the TYPE III genealogical patterns in Phase 2, there is a considerable increase in the number of examples mentioning the marriage alliances of the ruling elites. In this regard, we have about 19 examples out of 28 that refer to the marriage alliances between the main ruling family and other neighboring ruling families. However, like in earlier TYPES most of the examples in this TYPE too, refer to the marriage alliances of the ancestors. But, unlike the earlier TYPE, in this TYPE the name of the family to which the queen belonged has also been mentioned. However, just like in TYPE II here too we find that the same incident being reproduced in many examples. Thus, for instance, the marriage of the Kalyani Chalukyan king with the princess of the Chedi family has been mentioned in about 8 examples (Chart IIB, 4, 14, 57, 59, 69, 73, 84, 86). Similarly, marriage alliance entered into by the Chalukyas with the Ratta family is mentioned in 6 examples (Chart IIB, 4, 59, 69, 73, 84, 86). Likewise, we have 3 examples from the Eastern Deccan that mention the marriage of the king's father (Vimaladitya of the Eastern Chalukyan family) with a princess of the Chola family (Chart IIB, 11, 36, 38). However, in 5 other examples, the same king is mentioned to have married a Haihaya princess (Chart IIB, 44, 53, 54, 60, 61).

With reference to the king, we have in TYPE III, 5 examples that refer to his marriage with other ruling families of the Deccan and South India. In this regard, we noted 2 instances where the king is supposed to have married the princess of the Chola family. Thus, for example, in one instance, Ammanga, a

Choja princess was mentioned as the wife of Rajaraja Narendra of the Eastern Chajukyan king (Chart IIB, 19). And in another instance, Madhurantaki, a Chola princess has been stated as the wife of Kulottunga I (Chart IIB, 66). In 3 examples, only the names of queens belonging to the minor Chajukyan king of Mudigonda and Jananathapuram are mentioned (Chart IIB, 95, 97, 98). All these instances are noted in the records belonging to the Eastern Deccan. Simultaneously, one has also found 4 examples from the western Deccan, belonging to the Kalyani Chajukyan dynasty that refer to the king's marriage. In this regard, in one instance only we found reference to the king's marriage with a princess of the Rastrakuta family (Chart IIB, 4). On the other hand, in three other examples the name of the queen alone has been given without the mention of her family details (Chart IIB, 59, 73, 84). Apart from these examples that mention the marriage alliance of the main ruling families of the Chalukyan dynasty, we also have 2 references to the marriage alliances of the local chiefs (Chart IIB, 84, 88).

Thus, in TYPE III during Phase 2, we see new entrants with whom the main Chalukyan families, not only entered into marriage alliance, but constantly emphasized these relationships in the subsequent records, underlining their impact on the politics of the region. Thus, while the marriage alliances of the later Chajukyan families of Kalyani with the Chedis¹²⁸ and the Rattas¹²⁹ had led to the consolidation of their kingdom in the initial stages, the marriage alliances of the Eastern Chajukyias with the Chojas¹³⁰ had initiated the new rule of the Chajukya-Chojas in the Eastern Deccan. It can therefore, be surmised that marriage alliances acted as both stabilizing forces while at the same time, being agents for the expansion of spatial control into new areas. In the case of the former the Chajukyan family identity got firmly entrenched because of the establishment of vertical social relationships with their subordinates. In the latter cases it led to transformation of Chajukyan identity due to the expansion of horizontal social relations outside their primary areas of control.

TYPE IV examples during Phase 2 present a completely different picture to that discussed above. In this TYPE of genealogies, reference to the marriage alliances of the ancestors is completely absent. On the other hand, though we found about 6 instances that refer to the marriage of the king of the main ruling family, the family to which these queens belonged has not been given (**Chart IIB, 6, 12, 32, 34, 42, 67, 71**) except in one example where the chief of the Nollamba Pallavas is said to have married the princess of the Kalyani Chalukyan family (**Chart IIB, 6**). The Nollambas were prominent local chiefs of south India who were initially subordinates under the Pallavas.¹³¹

Interesting data that emerges in the example of the genealogies of TYPE IV, is the mention of the marriage alliances of local chiefs. In this regard, we found a large number of about 13 references. This is in total contrast to such examples in TYPES II and III genealogical patterns of the main ruling families where we noted only one or two references (**Chart IIB, 2, 17, 18, 22, 27, 37, 42, 62, 72, 81, 88, 93, 94**). This surely indicates the necessity felt by these chiefs to now specify and perhaps enhance their genealogical status by explicitly and consciously stating their marriage alliances. This was concomitant with the fact that they had now risen to political prominence and had a clear capacity to make land donations and control specific areas in different localities.

Thus from the above data on marriage alliances, we have pertinently noted that examples pertaining to these in TYPE I during Phase 1 are few, but the families with whom these social alliances were made, were significantly establishing both the political motives of the ruling elite, as well as their earnest desire to establish genealogical linkage with families of common mythical ancestry. On the other hand, in TYPE II during Phase 1, we found relatively more references to marriage alliances and further, that most of these were contracted with those whom the Chalukyas claimed to have conquered. This clearly suggest that in Phase 1 which was broadly a period that had witnessed the process of spatial expansion and migrations into new areas, marriage alliances were contracted with the kings of the conquered territories and this perhaps suggests their attempts to consolidate the control over these larger units of space. On the other hand, examples from Phase 2 have revealed an augmentation in the number of references to marriage alliances. Further, we

have a greater number of references to the marriage alliances of ancestors of kings. This points to the need to be felt during a latter period to establish both social and political legitimacy for the ruling elite since it was continually being contested. Another significant development noticed in this Phase is with reference to the marriage alliances of the local chiefs that significantly points to their rise in socio-political and economic status at the local level of polity. Marriage alliances in both phases reveal that the inter-clan relationships between various ruling families were nurtured not so much by social considerations of caste but more so by political necessities. Thus, these inter-clan relationships offer a key to the understanding of the processes through which the Chalukyan polity evolved during the early medieval period.

From an analysis of data, in this Chapter, we note that in the first half of Phase 1, when the early Chalukyan State of Badami was in its incipient stages of formation, the level of migration and spatial expansion was rather narrow. During this period, it appeared that the main focus of the ruling elite was to expand into the immediate neighborhood with a potentiality for rich resource base. Consequently, the genealogies in this TYPE remained short and simple. Similarly, assertions for political power through assuming high sounding titles and political symbols appeared either, less exaggerated or, totally absent. On the other hand, TYPE II of this phase revealed dynamic processes of change. With the augmentation of military conquests by the Badami Chalukyan kings, migrations into the fertile tracts of the eastern Deccan were effected. This concomitantly resulted in the segmentation of the Chalukyan lineage and a part of it settling down in a different sub-region of the Deccan, namely, what in the core area of today's coastal Andhra. This provided an effective mechanism for control of resource in areas that had still to be fully exploited as agrarian expansion was only beginning in these parts. An important consequence of this is found in the expansion of genealogies that became lengthy during this time. Similarly, the need to project the greatness of the king and his ancestors through exaggerated accounts of the military accomplishments and acquiring high sounding titles also increased. This in fact, provided the contemporary king with necessary political legitimization and identity through which he was able to control a larger territorial space. This was further fructified through marriage alliances with the neighboring dynasties as well as with powerful local

chiefs. These marriage alliances revealed that they are merely political acts through which the ruling elites were able to augment their control over the conquered territories, but also indicated the horizontal spread of Chajukyan lineages, keeping intact their social identity.

On the other hand, in Phase 2 and especially in the TYPE III genealogical pattern, we found that the descriptions of military conquests had become formulaic rather than indicating the 'real' political and territorial expansion. Since this Phase also marked the decline of some of the major regional powers, we also see a need for these families to make 'imagined' claims linking up with pan-Indian identities. Their urgent task it seems was to retain what they had conquered and consolidated during the earlier phase. Thus, we noted that this was done not only through fabrication of their genealogies that refer almost incessantly to the mythical origins of their respective families connecting them to pan-Indian traditions, but even the descriptions of the military conquests and high sounding titles noted against their names reveal a desperate necessity to maintain both political control and social identity. The latter had to be distanced away from those contesting their power and therefore, the terms of representation of the victories achieved over enemies in this TYPE are in consonance with the well-established convention in ancient India that sought to place the ruler in a position of universal sovereignty.¹³² The convention also underlines the need for depicting a multiplicity of enemies who were vanquished, most graphically in the descriptions occupying spaces far removed from the core area of the actual control these families asserted during this Phase.

Another remarkable feature of Phase 2 is the simultaneous emergence of political and social identities of the local chiefs and their linkages with trans-regional contacts, both political and cultural. Consequently, to gain pan-regional linkages these individual local chiefs imitated their overlords by referring to their genealogies and to their military achievements. This led to the emergence of new localities as centers for the establishment of new networks of social relations within particular spatial units that we turn to examine in the next chapter.

Thus one can conclude this chapter by suggesting that the data presented above has pertinently brought out the fact that the larger processes of territorial integration and its control were possible through both political and socio-ideological mechanisms. Both the political claims explicated through the mention of military conquests and acquisition of various titles, as well as social concerns to maintain and expand marriage alliances have enhanced our understanding of the patterns that genealogies of these families evolved through. Whereas, looking at larger units of time and space in terms of the data in the *prasasti* portions of inscriptions provide us a viable mode through which these ruling elites looked at their past and present they are not a sufficient criteria. The ruling elite could not have sustained their control and identities only through these ideological mechanisms. In fact, to have an effective control over smaller territorial units and in more specific units of time they had to depend on an efficient larger social structure that was achieved through evolving patronage patterns in relation to control of a strong subsistence base. Only this could provide the actual legitimization and an identity for the king in power and bring him in direct relationship with a broader social and physical environment that he had conquered. We turn to examine and analyze these aspects in the next Chapter.

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"The epithet *Sri/ Prithvivallabha* denoted 'the favorite of the world'. *IA*, XI, 1882, p. 68.

⁸⁰ The term *Sarvalokasraya* is understood as 'the lord of the entire world'. Monier Williams, *Op. Cit.*, 1979, pp. 907 & 1185.

si The title *Rajah* referred to a 'king' or a 'subordinate king'. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965, p. 133.

⁸² The title *Bhupateh* indicated to 'the lord of the earth'. Monier Williams, *Op. Cit.*, 1979, p. 761.

⁸³ The title *Samasta Bhuvanasraya/ Samasta Lokasraya* denoted 'the asylum of the whole world'. B. V. Krishna Rao, *Op. Cit.*, 1973, p. 181.

⁸⁴ The title *Vallabhesvara* means 'the lord of Vallabha'. *El*, XXVII, 1947-48, pp. 4-9.

⁸⁵ N. Venkataramanayya, *Op. Cit.*, 1950, pp. 116-17.

- ⁸⁶ The titles *Tribhuvanamalla* and *Trailokyamalla* indicated 'the wrestler of the three worlds'. Monier Williams, Op. Cit., 1979.
- ⁸⁷ J. F. Fleet interpreted the term *Jagadekamalla* as the 'sole wrestler in the world'. See J. F. Fleet, *The Dynasties of the Canarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency from the Earliest times to the Musalman Conquests of AD 1318*, Bombay, 1896, p. 435.
- ⁸⁸ Similarly, Fleet also interprets the title *Bhuikamalla* as 'the wrestler of the terrestrial world'. Ibid.
- ⁸⁹ The term *Bhuvanaikamalla* is interpreted as the 'the only wrestler of the world'. Ibid.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid.
- ⁹¹ D. C. Sircar, Op. Cit., 1965, p. 341-42.
- ⁹² The expression *Trivikrama* is used to draw comparison of the king with Lord Visnu. In this context, the king is referred to as 'Visnu as the world of men because his valor surpassed mankind'. *El*, IX, 1907-08, p. 317.
- ⁹³ This epithet compares the king with Lord Indra.
- ⁹⁴ The expression *Arasanka Kesari* referred to 'a king who like a swift lion causes fear or awe among his enemies'. Monier Williams, Op. Cit., 1976, p. 1047.
- ⁹⁵ The title *Birudaiika Bhima* is used to refer to the person with the title 'Bhima'. 'Bhima' is an epic hero exhibiting brute courage and valour.
- ⁹⁶ The title *Tripuramartya Mahesvara* is said to have acquired by the king after he had burnt the three cities of Kiranapura, Achalapura and Oru-Nellurupura of his enemies. B. V. Krishna Rao, Op. Cit., 1973, p. 181-182.
- ⁹⁷ The epithet *Paracakrarama* is a combination of three terms. The term 'para' is understood to be in one context as 'another form of'. In another context, it meant 'great' C. P. Brown, Op. Cit., 1997, p. 714. The term 'cakra' referred to a 'wheel borne by Visnu'. 'Rama' referred to the hero of the epic *Ramayana*. He is also considered an *avatara* of Lord Visnu. In this context, therefore, the title '*Paracakrarama*' may be understood as 'a person who is as great as Rama'.
- ⁹⁸ The epithet *Udatta Narayanan* is a combination of two expressions. While the term *udatta* referred to 'a generous donor'¹ Monier Williams, Op. Cit., 1979, p. 185. And the other term *Narayanan* is used to equate the king with Narayana or Visnu.
- ⁹⁹ The expression *Saranagata Vajra Pamjaram*, referred to a person who 'trapped the hard or mighty arrows of Kamadeva'. Ibid. pp. 575, 913 & 1056.
- ¹⁰⁰ This epithet compares the king with God Siva.
- ¹⁰¹ This epithet compares the king with Lord Rama.
- ¹⁰² The terms *Vikramarjuna* referred to 'a person who resembled Arjuna in heroism and valour'. C. P. Brown, Op. Cit., 1997, p. 1172
- ¹⁰³ In this context Cynthia Talbot has come to similar conclusion with regard to Kakatiyan kings. Op. Cit., 2001, 144.

¹⁰⁴ In this regard, it would be pertinent to explain the meaning of these epithets. Among these the term *Satyasraya* may be interpreted as the one who is 'the favorite of fortune and of the earth'. *IA*, XIX, 1890, p. 15.

¹⁰⁵ The expressions *Kamadhenu* and *Sri-Tyagadhenu* have similar meaning that referred to the one who resembled 'the celestial cow in liberality'. *EI*, IX, 1907-08, p. 317; *EI*, XVIII, 1925, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰⁶ The title *Gandaraganda* refer to a person with 'excellent of best face'. Monier Williams, *Op. Cit.*, 1979, p. 344.

¹⁰⁷ The term *Manuju Prakara* denoted to a prince who was 'elevated on a mound of earth'. H. H. Wilson, *A Sanskrit- English Dictionary- Shabda Sagara*, Delhi, 1979, p. 501.

¹⁰⁸ The expression *Vikramadhava/a* indicated to 'a person who exhibited noble qualities of heroism and valor'. Monier Williams, *Op. Cit.*, 1979, pp. 513 & 955.

¹⁰⁹ The expression *Gunakanalla* is used to describe 'one who is beautiful on account of his virtues'. B. V. Krishna Rao, *Op. Cit.*, 1973, p. 181.

¹¹⁰ The term *Gunarnavam* was used to refer to the knowledge of the king in the subject of mathematics'. B. V. Krishna Rao, *Op. Cit.*, 1973, p. 183.

¹¹¹ The expression *Priyagajjam* referred to a 'lovely, cheerful cheeks'. H. H. Wilson, *Op. Qt.*, 1979, p. 235 & p. 710.

¹¹² The term *Arudha sarva Jnan* implied 'one who is like a mountain in knowledge'. Monier Williams, *Op. Cit.*, 1979, p. 151.

¹¹³ The epithet *Guna Nidhi* implied 'one who possess a treasure of virtues'. *Ibid.* p. 185.

¹¹⁴ The title *Akalamka carita* is interpreted as 'spot less character and a wonder among pierce foes'. See, Sant Lai Katore, 'The Caiukyasa of Kalyani', *IHQ*, Vol. XVII, Calcutta 1941, p. 28. On the other hand Fleet has given the meaning as one who is of "spotless behaviour". See, J. F. Fleet, *Op. Cit.*, 1896, p. 432.

¹¹⁵ B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Op. Cit.*, 1976, p. 75.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Surajit Sinha, 'State Formation and Rajput Myth in Tribal Central India', in Herman Kulke, *Op. Cit.*, 1995, pp. 338-39.

¹¹⁸ K. A. N. Sastri in G. Yazdani, *Op. Cit.*, 1982, p. 209.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ P. B. Desai, *A History of Karnataka*, Dharwar, 1970, pp. 188-189.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ Romila Thapar, *AISH*, New Delhi, 1996, p. 269.

¹²⁴ Kesavan Veluthat, *The Political Structure of early Medieval South India*, New Delhi, 1993, p. 31.

¹²⁵ *EI*, Vol. XXXII, 1962, pp. 45-55.

¹²⁶ B. K. Singh, *The Early Chalukyas of Vatapi, (Circa AD 500- 757)*, Delhi, 1991, p. 116.

¹²⁷ K. Suryanarayana, *Feudatories under Eastern Chalukyas*, New Delhi, 1987, pp. 2-3.

¹²⁸ According to R. G. Bhandarkar, Chedi actually constituted a territorial province situated in the Jabalpur district of Madhya Pradesh. It was actually under the rule of the Kālachuris. In this regard the Chedis may be understood as none other than the Kālachuris, who were holding a subordinate position under the Western Chālukyas. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkhan*, New Delhi, 1985, 1st ed. 1895, p. 93.

¹²⁹ The Raṭṭas were the local chiefs ruling over the Saundatti area in the Belgaum District. They came into prominence under the Rāshtrakūṭa king Krishna III. With the decline of the Rāshtrakūṭa power, they acknowledged the sovereignty of the Western Chālukyas under Taila II. Krishna Murari, *Op. Cit.*, 1977, p. 42.















¹³⁰ The Chōlas on the other hand, were the powerful ruling family of the South with Tanjore as their capital. They regarded themselves as *ksatriyas* of the *Sūryavamśa* lineage. Kesavan Veluthat, *Op. Cit.*, 1993, p. 33.

¹³¹ The Nolambas are said to have ruled from the 8th century AD to the 11th century AD. They ruled the portions comprising the modern Anantapur district of AP and Chitradurg and Tumkur districts of Karnataka. V. Balambal, *Feudatories of South India (800- 1070 AD)*, Allahabad, 1978, p. 66.

¹³² B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Op. Cit.*, 1998, p. 20.

CHART II A

CONQUESTS, TITLES AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES- PHASE 1 (6TH -10TH CENTURIES AD)

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING/ DYN	LOCAT ION	MIL. Ancts	CONQUESTS King	LC	MT	TITLES- ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL SYMBOLS Ancts	King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFER
1.	Badami Ins. Pul. I, BCD	Bijapur , KN	---	Maker of Vatapi	---	---	---	---	---	Vallabh eśvara	---	---	---	---	---	I	ET, XXV 1947-4 pp. 4-5
2.	Badami Ins. Maṅgaleśa, BCD	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	---	RVt	---	---	---	---	---	---	I	IA, III, pp. 30-
3.	Mahakuta Ins. Maṅga- leśa, BCD	-do-	GF=  B= 		---	F= RV B=PRP	GFF& GF= Nr F=SPV	---	Uru- RVt	SPV, Nr	---	---	---	---	Durlabhadevi (Batpura Family) (W) Pulakeśi I	I	IA, XIX 1890, p 20
4.	Nerur Ins. Maṅgaleśa, BCD	Ratnag iri MHR	---		---	---	---	---	---	Rājah	---	---	---	---	---	I	IA, VII, pp. 161
5.	Haidarabad Ins. Pul. II (BCD)	Hydera bad AP	GF=  F=  		---	---	GF= MR F= MR	---	---	SPV, MR	---	---	---	---	---	I	IA, VI,1 pp.72-7
6.	Kandalgam Pls. Pul. II (BCD)	Ratnag iri MHR	---	Defeat -ed Harsha	---	---	---	---	BT	SPV, MRR	---	---		---	---	I	IA, XIV, pp. 330-
7.	Satara Cp. KVV I (ECV)	Satara, MHR	GF= 		---	GF=RV	GF= Nr	---	VS	Yuva rājah	---	---	---	---	---	I	IA, XIX, pp.303-1
8.	Timmapura m Pls. of KVV I (ECV)	Visakh apatna m, AP.	GFF=  B= 		---	GF=RV	B=MR, SPV	---	VS, MKD	MR	TVK	---	---	---	---	I	ET, IX, 1 pp.317-1

*Consolidated key for Abbreviations and Symbols used in Charts IIA and IIB are provided at the end of these charts.

I		II	III		VI		VII		VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING/ DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. Ancts	CONQUESTS King	LC	MT	TITLES- ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL Ancts	SYMBOLS King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENC	
9.	Lohaner Pls. of Pul. II (BCD)	Nasik, MHR	---	✓	---	GF=RV F=ŚrīParā krama	GF=MR	---	RV	SPV, MR	---	---	---	---	---	I	EI, XXVII, 1947-48, pp. 37-41	
10.	Kopparam Pls. of Pul. II (BCD)	Guntur, AP	F= ✓	✓	---	---	F= MR	---	---	SPV, MR	---	---	---	---	---	I	EI, XVIII, pp.257-261	
11.	Aihole ins. of Pul. II (BCD)	Bijapur, KN	GGGF= ✓ GGF= ✓ GF= ✓ F= ▶> Uncle= ▶>	▶>	---	F= Raṇa Parākrama	GGGF= Rājāḥ GGF=Jaga dekāṇṭaḥ GF=Rājāḥ	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	II	EI, VI, 1900-1901, pp. 1-12	
12.	Yekkeri Pls. Pul. II (BCD)	Belgaum, KN	---	✓	---	---	---	---	---	MR	---	---	---	---	---	I	EI, V, 1898- 99, pp. 6-9	
13.	Chiplun Pls. Pul. II (BCD)	Ratnagiri, MHR	---	✓	---	---	F= Nr	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	I	EI, III, 1894- 95, pp. 50-3	
14.	Lakshmeshwar Pls. Pul. II, (BCD)	Dharwar, KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	PV	---	---	---	---	---	I	SII, XX, No. 3, BK series, pp.2-3	
15.	Pimpalner Cp. Pul. II (BCD)	Khandesh, MHR	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	MRR	---	---	---	---	---	I	IA, IX, 1880, pp.293-96	
16.	Tummeyanuru Ins. Pul. II(BCD)	Kurnool, AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	SPV, MRR	SA	---	---	---	---	I	CPIAPGM, I, 1962, pp. 40-45	
17.	Nerur Cp. Of Pul. II (BCD)	Ratnagiri, MHR	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	MR	---	---	---	---	---	I	IA, VIII, 1879 pp.43-44	

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING/ DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. CONQUESTS Ancts King LC	MT	TITLES- ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL SYMBOLS Ancts King LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE				
18.	Chipurupalle pls. of KVV I (ECV)	Visakha patnam, AP	B=✓ ⇒	✓	---	---	B= MR	---	VS, MKD	MR	---	---	---	---	---	I	IA, XX,189 pp. 15-18
19.	Mundakallu Ins. of Aditya- yavarmān (BCD)	Kurnool, AP	GF=✓ ⇒ F=✓	---	---	---	GGF=SPV, MR GF= MR F= MRR	---	---	MRR	---	---	---	---	---	I	IA, XI, 1882, pp. 66-68
20.	Nerur Grant of Śrī Vijaya- abhaṭṭārika (BCD)	Ratnagiri, MHR	GF=✓ ⇒ F=✓ B=✓	---	---	F= BT B= Ripu Narendr a	GGF= SPV, MR, GF= MR F= SPV, MRR	---	---	SPV, MR	---	---	---	---	Śrī Vijayabhaṭṭā rika (W) of Chandra- ditya (BCD)	I	IA, VII,187 pp.163-164
21.	Kochre Cp. Of Śrī Vijaya- abhaṭṭārika (BCD)	Ratnagiri, MHR	-do-	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	I	IA, VIII, 1879, pp. 44-47
22.	Grant A of JS I (ECV)	Visakha patnam, AP	---	✓	---	---	F= MR	---	---	SPV, MR	---	---	---	---	---	I	EI, XXXI, 1955-56, pp. 129-33
23.	Grant B	-do-	---	✓	---	---	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	I	Ibid. pp.133-36
24.	Grant C	-do-	---	✓	---	---	F= MR	---	---	SPV, MR	---	---	---	---	---	I	Ibid. pp. 136-38
25.	Amudalapadu Pls. of VK I (BCD)	Mahabubnagar, AP	GF=✓ F=✓ ⇒	✓	---	---	GGF= MR GF=SPV, MR F=SPV, MRR	---	Ripu ripati, Raṇas irasi, RipuN arend ra	SPV, MRR	---	---	---	---	---	I	EI, XXXII, 1957, pp. 175-184

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING/ DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. CONQUESTS Ancts King	LC	MT	TITLES- ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL Ancts	SYMBOLS King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFEREN CE
26.	Pedda-Mad- dali Pls. JS I (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	F=✓	✓	---	F=VS	---	---	MR	---	---	---	---	---	I	JA, XIII, 1884, pp.137-39
27.	Talamanchi Pls. of VK I, (BCD)	Nellore, AP	GF=✓ => F=>>	✓	---	---	GGF=MR GF=MR F=SPV, MRR	---	---	SPV, MRR	---	---	---	---	I	EI, IX, 1907- 1908, pp. 98-102
28.	Racchamari Grant of VK I (BCD)	Kurnool, AP	-do-	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	I	EA, VI,1994, pp. 1-5
29.	Pulibumra Pls. of JS I (ECV)	W.Goda vari AP	F=✓	✓	---	---	F=MR	---	---	MR	---	---	---	---	I	EI, IX,1927, pp.254-58
30.	Uchchati Grant of JS I (ECV)	Krishna, AP	-do-	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	Sarva siddhi	-do-	---	---	---	---	I	EA, V, 1988, pp. 18-20
31.	Pedda- Vegi Pls. of JS I (ECV)	W.Goda vari AP	-do-	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	I	EI, XIX, 1927-28, pp.258-61
32.	Niduparu Grant of JS I (ECV)	Guntur Dt. AP	F=✓	✓	---	F= Makara dhvaja	F=MR	---	---	MR	---	---	---	---	I	EI, XVIII, 1925-26, pp.55-58
33.	Reyuru Grant of VV II (ECV)	Nellore Dt. AP	GF=✓ F=✓	-do-	---	F= Sarva- siddhi	GF=MR F=MR	---	---	SL, MR	---	---	---	---	I	JA, VII,1878 pp.185-91
34.	Koneki Grant of VV II (ECV)	Guntur Dt. AP	GF=✓ Uncle= ✓	---	---	Pul.II= BT	Pul. II= SPV, MRR, GF=MR Uncle=MR F= Rāja- lōkāśraya	---	---	MR	---	---	---	---	II	ĒI, XXXI, 1955-56, pp. 74-80.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./KING /DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. CONQUESTS Ancts	King	LC	MT	TITLES- ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL SYMBOLS Ancts	King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYP E	REFEREN CE
35.	Kurtakoti Pls. of VK I (BCD)	Dharwa r, KN	GF=𑀧 𑀓𑀭 F=𑀓𑀭	𑀧 𑀓𑀭	---	---	GGF=MRR F=MRR	---		Ripuṇṇipati, Raṇasirasi, RipuNarend ra	SPV, MRR	---	---	---	---	I	IA, VII,1878 pp.217-20
36.	Haidarabad Pls. of VK I (BCD)	Hyderab ad, AP	-do-	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	I	IA, VI,1877, pp.75-78
37.	Kolhapuram Pls. of VK I (BCD)	Mahabu bnagar, AP	-do-	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	I	EA, IV, 1975, pp. 9-12
38.	Kondanagur Pls. Indrava- rman (ECV)	Visakha patnam, AP	F=𑀧	---	---	F= Raṇa- mukha	GF=MR F= MR	---	---	MR	---	---	---	---	---	I	EI, XVIII, 1925-26, pp.1-5
39.	Pallivada Grant of VV II (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	GF=𑀧 Uncle= 𑀧	𑀧	---	---	GF=MR Uncle=MR	---	---	MR	---	---	✕	---	---	I	IA, VII, 1878, pp.191-92
40.	Pamidimukk ala- Grant A of VV II (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	Uncle= 𑀧	-do-	---	---	Uncle=MR	---	khri Praṇyādity a	---	---	---	---	---	---	I	Śāṅkaram New Delhi, 2000, pp. 71-76
41.	Chendalur Pls. of Maṇḍi Yuvarāja (ECV)	Nellore Dt. AP	GF=𑀧 F=𑀧	𑀧	---	GF=Raṇ abhūsha ṇa F=MKD	GGF,GF= MR F=MR	---	MKD	SL, MR	---	---	---	---	---	I	EI, VIII, 1905-06, pp.236-41
42.	Gadval Pls. of VK I (BCD)	Kurnool Dt. AP	GF=𑀧 𑀓𑀭 F=𑀓𑀭	𑀧 𑀓𑀭	---	---	GGF,GF= MR F=MRR, SPV	---	Raṇarasika	SPV, MRR	---	---	---	---	---	I	EI, X, 1909-10, pp.100-06

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING/ DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. Ancts	CONQUESTS King	LC	MT	TITLES- ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL Ancts	King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
43.	Velnalli Grant of VK I (BCD)	Kurnool Dt. AP	-do-	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	I	<i>CPIAPGM, I,</i> 1962, pp. 46-53
44.	Savnur Pls. of VK I (BCD)	Dharwar KN	-do-	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	I	<i>EI, XXVII,</i> 1947-48, pp.115-119
45.	Pamidi muk ala Grant B of VV II (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	---	✓	---	---	Uncle =MR	---	<i>Śrī</i> <i>Praṇayā</i> <i>ditya,</i> VS	MR	---	---	---	---	---	I	<i>Śāṅkaram,</i> New Delhi, 2000, pp. 71-76
46.	Paniyal Grant of VN (BCD)	Mahabub nagar, AP	GGF= ✓ GF, F=	⇒	---	F=BT	GGGF=MR, GGF= MR, GF= SPV, MRR	---	BT	SPV, MRR	---	---	---	---	---	II	<i>CPIAPGM, I,</i> 1962, pp.58-63
47.	Lakshmeshw ar Ins. of VN (BCD)	Dharwar, KN	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	II	<i>SII, XX,1988</i> pp.3-4
48.	Jejuri Pls. of VN (BCD)	Poona, MHR	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	II	<i>EI, XIX, pp.</i> 62-65
49.	Togurshode Cp. Of VN (BCD)	Kurnool Dt. AP	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	II	<i>IA, VI,</i> 1877, pp. 85-88
50.	Poona pls. of VN (BCD)	Poona, MHR	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	II	<i>EI, XXV,</i> 1939, pp.289-291
51.	Sorab Pls. of VN (BCD)	Shimogg a KN	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	II	<i>IA, XIX,1890</i> pp.146-152

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING/ DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. CONQUESTS Ancts	King	LC	TITLES- MT	ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL Ancts	SYMBOLS King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
52.	Dayyamdinne Pls. of VN (BCD)	Bellary Dt. KN	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	II	ET, XXII, 1936, pp24- 29
53.	Musuniparu Pls. of VN (BCD)	Satara, MHR	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	II	IA, VI, 1877, pp. 88-91
54.	Kirukagama si Grant of VN (BCD)	ChATra durg, KN	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	II	IA, VII, 1878 pp.300-303
55.	Mayalur Pls. of VIJ (BCD)	Kurnool Dt. AP	GGGF= W→ GGF,GF, F= →	W	---	GF=BT F=BT	Pul. I, KV I=MR GGF,GF=SPV,MRR	---	BT	SPV, MRR	---	F=≈ etc.	※ ≈ ▷ β	---	---	II	ET, XXXIII, 1954-60, pp.311-314
56.	Nerur Pls. of VIJ (BCD)	Ratnagiri, MHR	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	II	IA, 1880, pp. 125-130
57.	Rayagad Pls. of VIJ (BCD)	Kolaba, MHR	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	II	ET, X, 1909 pp. 14-17
58.	Nerur Pls. of VIJ (BCD)	Ratnagiri, MHR	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	II	IA, IX, 1880, pp. 130-132
59.	Shiggaon Pls. of VIJ (BCD)	Dharwar, KN	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	Kumkumade vi(BCD),(W) Chitravāhan a (Alūpa Family)	II	ET, XXXII, 1957, pp.317-324
60.	Copper Pls. of VIJ (BCD)	Satara Dt. MHR	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	II	ET, XXVI, 1941-42, pp. 322-36

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING/ DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. CONQUESTS Ancts King LC	TITLES- ANCESTORS AT	Misc MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL SYMBOLS Ancts King LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE		
61.	Alampur Ins. of VIJ (BCD)	Mahabub nagar Dt. AP	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	---	Obtained sovereign symbols	---	II	<i>EI</i> , XXXV, 1963, pp. 121-123.
62.	Penukaparu Grant of JS II (ECV)	Nellore Dt. AP	---	✓	---	---	GF=MR F= SL, MR	---	---	SL, MR	---	---	---	---	I	<i>EI</i> , XVIII, 1925, pp. 313-316
63.	Chendara Grant of JS II (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	---	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	I	<i>EA</i> , V, 1988, pp.20-21, 25-27
64.	Lakshmeshwar Ins of VIJ (BCD)	Dharwar, KN	KVI= ✓→ GGF,G F, F=→	✓	---	GF=BT F=BT	Pul. I, KV I=MR GGF,GF,F =SPV,MRR	---	BT	SPV, MRR	---	F≈ etc.	✕ ≈ ∞ β	---	II	<i>SII</i> , XX, BK Series, 1988 pp.4-5
65.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of VIJ (BCD)	-do-	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	II	<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 6-7
66.	A Grant of VIJ (BCD)	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	II	<i>EI</i> , XXV, 1939, pp.21-24
67.	Ipur Plates of VV III (ECV)	Guntur Dt. AP	---	-do-	---	---	GF=MR F=MR	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	Prithvipōti (W) Viṣṇu-vardhana III	I	<i>EI</i> , XVIII, 1925, pp.58-60
68.	Musinikonda Grant of VV III (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	---	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	I	<i>JAHRs</i> , XVI, 1945, pp. 48-9
69.	Nerur Pls. VIJ & VK II (BCD)	Ratnagiri , MHR	KV I=✓→ Pul. II, GGF, GF, F=→	---	---	GGF, GF, F= BT	Pul. I, KV I=MR GGGF,GGF ,GF, F= SPV,MRR	---	BT	SPV, MRR	---	GF≈ etc. F=✕ ≈ ∞ β	---	---	II	<i>IA</i> , IX,1880, pp.133-135

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING/ DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. Ancts	CONQUESTS King	LC	MT	TITLES- ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL Ancts	SYMBOLS King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
70.	Bondada Grant of VV III(ECV)	W.Goda vari Dt. AP	---	✓	---	---	F=MR	---	---	MR	---	---	---	---	---	I	EA, VI,1994, pp.13-17
71.	Kondakaripl ola Grant of VV. III(ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	---	-do-	---	---	GF=MR F=MR	---	VS	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	I	EA, V, 1988, pp.21-23; 27-29
72.	Lakshmeshw ar Ins. of VK II (BCD)	Dharwa r Dt. KN	Same as SNo. 69	➡	---	Same as SNo. 69	Same as SNo. 69	---	BT	SPV, MRR	---	Same as SNo. 69	---	---	---	II	SII, XX, BK Series,1988, pp. 7-8
73.	Narwan Pls. of VK II (BCD)	Ratnagir i, MHR	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	---	---	---	II	EI, XXVII, 1947-48, pp.125-131
74.	Kendur Pls. of KV II (BCD)	Poona, MHR	KV I=✓ ➡ Pul. II,VK I, GGF, GF, F=➡	➡	---	GGGF, GGF,GF, F= BT	Pul. I=MR KV I=MR Pul. II, VK I, GGF,GF, F= SPV, MRR	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	---	---	Śrī Mahādēvi (W) KV II (BCD)	II	EI, IX, 1907-08, pp. 200-206
75.	Pattadakal Ins. of KV II (BCD)	Bijapur, KN	F=✓ ➡	---	---	GF, F= BT	GF, F= MRR	---	BT	MRR	---	---	---	---	Lokamahāde vi & Trail- ōkya Mahā- dēvi (Kāla- churi dyn.) (Ws) VK II (BCD)	I	EI, III, 1894 pp.1-7
76.	Vokkaleri Pls. of KV II (BCD)	Dharwa r KN	Same as SNo. 74	➡	---	Same as S.No. 74	Same as S. No. 74	---	BT	SPV, MRR	---	Same as S. No. 74	---	---	---	II	IA, VIII, 1879, pp.23-29
77.	Alluvalu Grant of VIJ. I (ECV)	Guntur Dt. AP	---	✓	---	---	F= SL, MR	---	BT	MRR, SB	---	---	---	---	---	I	EA, III,1974 pp.1-5;

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING/ DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. CONQUESTS Ancts King LC	TITLES- ANCESTORS AT Misc MT	TITLES- KING AT Misc	POLITICAL SYMBOLS Ancts King LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE							
78.	Tenali Pls. of VIJ. I (ECV)	-do-	---	✓	---	---	-do-	---	MRR	---	---	---	---	---	I	<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 297-300
79.	Two New Cp. Of VIJ I (ECV) CP. A	Krishna Dt. AP	---	✓	---	---	F= SL, MR	---	SB, MRR	---	---	---	---	---	I	<i>JAHSR</i> , V, 1930, pp.51-56
80.	CP. B	-do-	---	✓	---	---	-do-	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	I	<i>Ibid.</i>
81.	Ederu Pls of VIJ. II (ECV)	-do-	GF, F= ✓	✓	---	---	F= MR	---	BT	-do-	---	---	---	---	I	<i>EI</i> , V, 1898, pp. 118-142
82.	Varppomgu Pls. of VIJ. II (ECV)	Khamm am Dt. AP	-do-	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	-do-	MRR	---	---	---	---	I	<i>EA</i> , III,1974 pp. 5-7
83.	Korraparru Grant of VIJ. II (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	-do-	-do-	---	---	-do-	---	-do-	MRR, SB	---	---	---	---	I	<i>SII</i> , I, 1892, (Rpt. 1987) pp. 31-36
84.	Permajili Grant of VV. V (ECV)	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	SL, MR	---	---	---	---	I	<i>ARE</i> , 1911-14, pp.85-86
85.	Ahadanakar am Pls. of VV. V (ECV)	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	I	<i>JA</i> , XIII, 1884, pp. 185-187
86.	Masulipatna m Pls. of GV III (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	GF, F= ✓	---	---	---	GF, F=MR	---	---	SB, MR	---	---	---	---	I	<i>EI</i> , V, 1898-99, pp. 122-126
87.	Sataluru CP. Of GV III (ECV)	-do-	GF=→	---	---	---	---	---	VMD, RRS, NM	---	MP, VD, BB, TM, PCR, AK, GN,	---	---	---	II	<i>JAHSR</i> , V, 1930, pp. 101-116

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING/ DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. ANCTS	CONQUESTS King	LC	TITLES- MT	ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- AT	KING Misc	POLITICAL Ancts	SYMBOLS King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
88.	Chimbuluru Grant of GV III (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	GF=⇒	---	---	---	---	---	---	Bhūp ateḥ	---	---	---	---	Chellaka (Rāshṭrakūṭa family) (W) GV III (ECV)	II	EA, III, 1974 pp. 6-15
89.	Kakumranu Grant of CB I (ECV)	-do-	KVV I=⇒ VI] II=✓	⇒	---	---	---	---	---	Nr	---	---	---	---	Gāmakāmba (D of LC),(W) VK (ECV)	II	EA, III, 1974 pp. 162-168
90.	Moga Grant of CB I (ECV)	-do-	GV III=⇒	⇒	---	---	---	---	---	SL, MRR	---	---	---	---	Śrī Mahādēvi (D) of Sāmanta (W) VI] (LC)	II	EA, III, 1974 pp. 28-42
91.	Telugu Aca- demy Pls. of CB I (ECV)	---	VI]=⇒ GV III=⇒	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	II	JBORS, VIII, 1922, pp.83- 98
92.	Bezvada Plates of CB I (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	VI]=✓	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	II	EI, V, 1898- pp.127-131
93.	Masulipatam Pls. Amma I (ECV)	-do-	F= Joined Vengi wATH Trikaliṅga forests	---	---	---	---	---	---	SL, MR	---	---	---	---	---	II	Ibid. pp.131- 134
94.	Ederu Pls. of Amma I (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	VV. V=✓ GV III=⇒ CB I=⇒	Suppre ssed feudat ories	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	II	IA, II, 1873, pp. 175-76
95.	Chevuru Pls. of Amma I (ECV)	-do-	---	✓	---	---	GF= Bhūpāla F=SB	---	PBT	SL, MRR	Rāja mahe ndra	---	---	---	---	I	EI, XXVII, 1947, pp.41- 47

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING/ DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. ANCTS	CONQUESTS King	LC	TITLES- MT	ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL SYMBOLS Ancts	King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
96.	Velambarru Pls. of Amma I (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	GV III=MR CB I= <i>Bhū- pāla</i>	---	---	SL, MRR	---	---	---	---	Lōkamahādē vi (W) VII. IV (ECV)	II	EA, III, 1974 pp. 43-46.
97.	Masulipatam Pls. of CB II (ECV)	-do-	---	---	---	---	GV III= MR	---	---	MRR	---	---	---	---	Mējāmba (W) VII. IV (ECV)	II	EI, V, 1898- pp. 134-139
98.	Paganavara m Pls. of CB II (ECV)	Madras Presiden cy	VII. II= CB. I = ⇒	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	II	JA, XIII, 1884, pp. 213-215
99.	Varanaendi Ins. of CB II (ECV)	E. Godavar i Dt. AP	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	II	Bhārati, 1965, pp. 24-38
100.	Kolipara Pls. of Arikeśari I (CV)	---	F=⇒	---	---	---	---	---	Sāhasa rāma	Samast a lōkāśra ya, TBM	Rāja Trinētra	---	---	---	---	II	N. Venkata- ramanayya, CV, 1953, p. 73-81.
101.	Maliyampudi Pls. Amma II (ECV)	Nellore Dt. AP	GV III=⇒	---	---	---	---	---	---	SB, MRR	---	---	---	---	Lokamahādev i, (W), CB. II (ECV)	II	EI, IX, 1907- 08, pp. 47-56
102.	Vemulavada Pls. of Arike- śari II (CV)	Karimna gar Dt. AP	Arikeś ari I = ⇒ F=⇒	---	---	---	---	---	---	TBM, SCM,	PK, AG, GVD, UN, ASJ, PG, GND, GN, SVP	---	---	---	Revakanirmā ḍi (Rāshīra- kūṭa family) (W) Arikeśari II	II	N. Venkatara manayya, Op. CAT. 1953 pp. 82-92
103.	Vemulavada Pls. of Arike- śari II (CV)	Karimna gar Dt. AP	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	II	IAP, Karim- nagar Dt., AR. No. 46, 1969, p. 1-5

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING/DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. CONQUESTS Ancts	King	LC	TITLES- MT	ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- AT	KING Misc	POLITICAL SYMBOLS Ancts	King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
104.	Kaluchumbarru Gr. of Amma II (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	GV III==>> CB I==>> Amma I =✓ CB II= ✓	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SL, MRR	---	---	---	---	Chāmekāmba (Paṭṭavardhani family) (W) Amma II	II	ET, VII, 1902-03, pp.178-192
105.	Padamkaluru Gr. of Amma II (ECV)	---	---	✓	---	---	---	---	-do-	SB, MRR	---	---	---	---	Lokamahādevi (W) CB II	II	IA, VII, 1878, pp.15-19
106.	Yelavarru Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	Guntur Dt. AP	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	II	IA, XII, 1883, pp.91-95
107.	Masulipatam Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	II	IA, VIII, 1879 pp. 73-76, ET, V, 1898 pp.139-142
108.	Gundugolanu Pls. Amma II (ECV)	W. Godavari Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SB, MRR	---	---	---	---	Lokamahādevi (W) CB II	II	IA, XIII, 1884, pp.248-250
109.	Newly Discovered Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	E. Godavari Dt. AP	GV III==>>	✓	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	II	JAHS, XX, 1949-50, pp.195-210.
110.	Pamulavaka Cp of Amma II (ECV)	Visakhapatnam Dt. AP	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	II	JAHS, II, 1928, pp. 242-249
111.	Tandikonda Gr. of Amma II (ECV)	Guntur Dt. AP	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	II	ET, XXIII, 1935, pp.161-70

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING/ DYN	LOCATI ON	MII. Ancts	CONQUESTS King	LC	TITLES- MT	ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- AT	KING Misc	POLITICAL Ancts	SYMBOLS King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
112.	Vemalurpad u Pls. Amma II (ECV)	Guntur Dt. AP	GV III=>	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	✱	---	-do-	II	ET, XIII, 1925, pp.161-170
113.	Nammuru Gr. of Amma II (ECV)	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	II	ET, XII, 1913- 14, pp.61-64
114.	Parabhani Pls. of Arike- śari III (CV)	---	Baddega defeated CB. I of ECV	---	---	---	---	---	---	TBM, SCM,	PK, AG, UN, GVD, PVV, PG, VKA, GN	---	✱	---	Lokāmbikā (Rāshṭrakūṭa family) (W) Arikeśari II	II	N.Venkatara manayya, Op. Cit. 1953, p. 92
115.	Vandram Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	---	✓	---	---	---	---	PBT	SB, MRR	---	---	---	---	Lokamahādev i (W) CB II	II	ET, IX, 1907, pp. 131-135
116.	Mangallu Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	Krishna Dt. AP	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	Aṅkidevi (Kaliṅga fam- ily) (W) CB II	II	EA, I, 1969, pp. 57-70.
117.	Kandyam Pl. of Dānar- nava (ECV)	Visakha patnam Dt. AP	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	-do-	II	JAHRS, XI, 1938, pp.80- 88
118.	Saudatti Ins. of Taila II (KC)	Belgau m, KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	SPV, SB,MR R	---	---	---	---	---	IV	SII, XX, BKSeries,198 8, pp.15-17
119.	Nilgund Ins. of Taila II (KC)	Dharwa r, KN	---	=>	✓	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	ET, IV, 1896, pp.204-208
120.	Hosur Ins. of Taila II (KC)	Dharwa r, KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	SII, XI, BKSeries,198 6, pp. 32-34.

CHART II B

CONQUESTS, TITLES AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES- PHASE 2 (11TH -12TH CENTURIES AD)

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING /DYN	LOCAT ION	MIL. CONQUESTS Ancts	King	LC	TITLES- MT	ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL SYMBOLS Ancts	King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
1.	Yali Sirur Ins. of Saty- āśraya (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SB, SPV, MRR	---	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>SI</i> , XI, BK Series, 1986 pp. 36-38.
2.	Lakkundi Gr. of Satyā- śraya (KC)	-do-	---	⇒	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	Attiyabbe (W) of Nāgadeva (LP) Vāji family	IV	<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 39-43.
3.	Hottur Ins. of Satyāś- raya (KC)	-do-	---	⇒	---	---	---	---	-do-	Śrī . RājaRāj a	Akalaṃ kacha- ri ta	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVI, 1921-22, pp.73-75
4.	Kauthem Pls. of VK V (KC)	Satara Dt. MHR	Ancestors = ⇒, JS, KV. I, Maṅgaleśa Pul. II (BCD) = ⇒, Taila II(KC) = ⇒	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	MRR, TBM	---	♥ * X	---	---	1. Boṅthādevi (W) of VK.IV, 2. Jakavva (W) Taila II	III	<i>IA</i> , XVI, 1887, pp.15-24
5.	Sudi Ins. of VK V (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	SB, MRR, TBM	---	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XV, 1919-1920, pp.75-77
6.	Alur Ins. of VK V (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✕	GD of Taila II (W) Iriva Nalambādhirāja (Pallava family)	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVI, 1921-22, pp. 75-77

*Consolidated key for Abbreviations and Symbols used in Charts IIA and IIB are provided at the end of these charts.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	
SNo	INS./ KING /DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. Ancts	CONQUESTS King	LC	TITLES- MT	ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- AT	KING Misc	POLITICAL Ancts	SYMBOLS King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
7.	Ranastipundi Pls. of Vima- lāditya (ECV)	E. Godavari Dt. AP	---	⇒	---	---	---	---	---	SL	BB, BM, TBK, MB	♥♠♣♠ ♠♣♣♣ P X β	---	---	---	III	ET, VI, 1900- 01, pp. 348- 361
8.	Chilkur Ins. of VK. V (KC)	Hyderaba d Dt. AP	---	⇒	---	---	---	---	PBT	SB, MRR, TBM	---	---	---	✕	---	IV	EA, II, pp. 50-55
9.	Kotavumach gi Ins. of VK. V (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✕	---	IV	EI, XX, 1929- 30, pp. 64-70
10.	Balagamve Ins. of JKM. I (KC)	North Kanara Dt. KN	GF, F= ⇒	⇒	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	III	IA, V, 1876, pp. 15-18
11.	Korumelli Plates of Rājarāja I (ECV)	E. Godavari Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SL, MRR	---	♥♠♣♠ ♠♣♣♣ P X β	---	---	Kūṇḍavāmahā devī (Chōja) (W) Vimalāditya (ECV)	III	IA, XIV, 1885, pp.48- 55
12.	Belur Ins. of JKM. I (KC)	Bijapur Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SB, MRR, JKM	---	---	---	---	Bhāgaladevi (W) of Daśavarma- deva (KC)	IV	IA, XVIII, 1889, pp. 270- 75.
13.	Ron Ins. of JKM. I (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	EI, XIX, 1928 pp.222-226
14.	Miraj Pls. of JKM. I (KC)	Satara Dt. MHR	Same as SNo. 4	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	♥♠♣	---	---	Boṇṭhādevi (W) VK. IV (KC)	III	EI, XII, 1913- 14, pp. 303- 315
15.	Marol Ins. of JKM. I (KC)	Bijapur Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SB, SPV, MRR, JKM	---	---	---	---	---	IV	SII, XI, BK Series, 1986, pp. 50-51

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING /DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. Ancts	CONQUESTS King	LC	TITLES- MT	ANCESTORS AT	Misc	TITLES- MT	KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL Ancts	SYMBOLS King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
16.	Heggur Ins. of JKM. I (KC)	Bijapur Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✱	---	IV	<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 51-52
17.	Kulenur Ins. of JKM. I (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	→	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✱	Kunḍala devi (W) Irivabe-eṅgaKunḍarāja (LC- Bana-vāsi 12000)	IV	<i>EI</i> , XV, 1919-20, pp. 329-334
18.	Hosur Ins. of JKM. I (KC)	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✱	Kamchikabbe (W) of Āycha Gāvunḍa (donor)	IV	<i>SII</i> , XI, BK Series, 1986, pp. 55-57.
19.	Kalidindi Ins. of Rājarāja I (ECV)	W. Godavari Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SL, MRR	---	✱	✱	---	Ammāṅgā (W) Rājarāja I (ECV)	III	<i>EI</i> , XXIX, 1951-52, pp. 57-71
20.	Pamulavaka Ins. VIJ. VII (ECV)	Visakhapatnam Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	---	-do-	---	---	---	III	<i>JAHS</i> , II, 1928, pp. 277-289
21.	Saidapur Ins. of JKM. I (KC)	Nalgonda Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SB, MRR, JKM	---	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>EA</i> , VI, 1994, pp. 37-42
22.	Gadag Ins. of JKM. I (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SB, MRR, JKM	---	---	---	---	Guṇābba (W) of Dhōyipay-ya(Perggaḍe)	IV	<i>EI</i> , XIX, 1928-29, pp. 217-222
23.	Hottur Ins. of JKM. I (KC)	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✱	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVI, 1921-22, pp.75-81

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS. / KING / DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. Ancts	CONQUESTS King	LC	MT	TITLES- ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL SYMBOLS Ancts	King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
24.	Hulgur Ins. of JKM. I (KC)	-do-	---	---	✓	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✕	---	IV	<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 332-337
25.	Sirur Ins. of JKM. I (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✕	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XV, 1919-20, pp. 334-336
26.	Mantur Ins. of JKM. I (KC)	Bijapur Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✕	---	IV	<i>IA</i> , XIX, 1890, pp. 161-165
27.	Huli Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Belgaum Dt. KN	---	---	✓	---	---	---	-do-	SB, MRR, AVM	---	---	---	---	Hammikabb e (W) of Prince Pāyimma (LC)	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVIII, 1923, pp. 172-178
28.	Mugad Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✕	---	IV	<i>SII</i> , XI, 1986, pp. 68-72
29.	Kolur Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	SB, MRR, TLM	---	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XIX, 1924, pp.180-183
30.	Kilaratti Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Raichur Dt. Karnataka	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XXXV, 1963, pp.37-39
31.	Arasibidi Ins. of Someśvara I(KC)	Bijapur Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SB, MRR, TLM	---	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVII, 1923, pp.121-123
32.	Bagevadi Ins. of Someśvara I(KC)	-do-	---	→	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	Mailaladevi (W) of Someśvara I (KC)	IV	<i>SII</i> , XI, 1986, pp. 75-76.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	
SNo	INS./ KING /DYN	LOCAT ION	MIL. ANCTS	CONQUESTS King	LC	TITLES- MT	ANCESTORS AT	Misc	TITLES- MT	KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL SYMBOLS Ancts	King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYP E	REFERENCE
33.	Sudi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	SB, SPV, MRR, TLM	---	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XV, 1919-20, pp.77-80
34.	Mallesvaram Ins. of Som- eśvara I(KC)	Mahabubnagar Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✱	Mailaladevi (W) of Someśvara I (KC)	IV	<i>EI</i> , XXXV, 1963, pp.253-260
35.	Niralgi Ins. of Someś-vara I (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	✱	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✱	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVI, pp.66-68
36.	Nandampundi Ins. Rāja-rāja I (ECV)	E. Godavari Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SL, MRR	---	♥♠≈ ♣♠* ♠P X β	---	---	Kuṇḍava Mahādevi (Chōḷa family) (W) Vimalāditya (ECV)	III	<i>EI</i> , IV, 1896-97, pp.300-309
37.	Mulgund Ins. of Som- eśvara I(KC)	KN	---	---	✱	---	---	---	PBT	SB, SPV, MRR, TLM	---	---	---	✱	Gojjikāmbikā (W) of Aggaḷadeva (Sandhivigrahādhik āri)	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVI, 1920-21, pp. 52-57
38.	Manda Ins. of Rājarāja I (ECV)	E. Godavari Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SL, MRR	---	♥♠≈ ♣♠* ♠P X β	---	---	KuṇḍavaMahādevi (W) Vimalāditya (ECV)	III	N.Venkata- ramanayya PC, 1969, pp.439-446
39.	Kelawadi Ins. of Som- eśvara I(KC)	Bijapur Dt. KN	---	---	→	---	---	---	PBT	SB, SPV, MRR, TLM	---	---	---	✱	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , IV, 1896 pp. 259-62
40.	Sanigaram Ins. of Som- eśvara I(KC)	Karimnagar Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>IAP</i> , Karim- nagar Dt.No. 15, pp.38- 42.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING /DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. ANCTS	CONQUESTS King	LC	TITLES- ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL Ancts	SYMBOLS King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
41.	Sudi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	El, XV, 1919- 20, pp.80-83
42.	Honwad Ins. of Someś- vara I (KC)	Bijapur Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	1.Kēṣṭhaladevi (W) SomeśvaraI(KC) 2.Attikāmbikā (W) Kommarāja (Vanavāsa family)	IV	IA, XIX, 1890, pp.268-275.
43.	Sudi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	⇒	✓	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✕	---	IV	El, XV, 1919 pp. 85-94
44.	Telugu Aca- demy pls. of Śaktivarman II (ECV)	E. Godavari Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SL, MRR	---	♥♠≈ ♠♠♠♠ ♠ ♠ X β	---	---	Māḍava Mahā- devi (Haihaya family)(W) of Vimalāditya (ECV)	III	JAHS, V, 1930, pp. 33- 49
45.	Marasanhalli Ins. of Som- eśvara I(KC)	Bijapur Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SB, SPV, MRR, TLM	---	---	---	---	---	IV	SII, XX, BK Series,1988, pp. 45-46
46.	Hottur Ins. of Someśv-ara I (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	⇒	---	---	-do-	SB, SPV, MRR, TLM, AVM	---	---	---	✕	---	IV	El, XVI,1920 pp. 81-88
47.	PanchalingalI ns. Someś- vara II (KC)	Kurnool Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	SB, PV, MRR, BVM	---	---	---	---	---	IV	El, XXXVI, 1965, pp. 139- 145
48.	Belgam Ins. of Someś- vara II (KC)	Belgaum Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	✕	---	IV	IA, I, 1872, pp. 141-142

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	
SNo	INS./ KING /DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. ANCTS	CONQUESTS King	LC	TITLES- MT	ANCESTORS AT	Misc	TITLES- MT	KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL ANCTS	SYMBOLS King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
49.	Rugi Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	Bijapur Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>SII</i> , XX, pp. 48-49
50.	Gawarwad Ins. Someśvara II (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	✱	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XV, 1919, pp. 337-347
51.	Bichapalli Ins. Someśvara II (KC)	Mahabubnagar Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	SB, PV, MRR, BVM	---	---	---	✱	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XXXVI, 1965, pp. 69-74
52.	Bijapur Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	Bijapur Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	SB, PV, MRR, BVM	---	---	---	✱	---	IV	<i>IA</i> , X, 1881, pp. 126-131
53.	Two New Cp. Of VIJ. VII (ECV) CP. 8	E. Godavari Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SL, MRR	---	♥♠♣♠♠ *~Ψ P X β	---	---	Mēḍava Mahādevi (W) of Vimalāditya (ECV)	III	<i>JAHRS</i> , IX, 1934, pp. 24-35
54.	CP. No. 9	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	---	---	-do-	III	<i>Ibid.</i>
55.	Niralgi Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	♠	---	---	---	---	SB, PV, MRR, BVM	---	---	---	✱	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVI, pp. 68-73
56.	Devageri Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	Chitradurga Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	---	---	---	-do-	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XIX, pp. 183-187
57.	Kallasambi Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	---	Same as SNo. 4	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SP, SPV, MRR, TBM	---	♥♠♣♠♠ *~Ψ P X β	---	---	Boṇthādevi (W) VK. IV (KC)	III	<i>CPIAPGM</i> , I, 1962, pp. 74-87
58.	Hulgur Ins. of VK.VI(KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✱	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVI, 1921 pp. 330-332

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING /DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. Ancts	CONQUESTS King	TITLES- LC	ANCESTORS MT	AT	Misc	TITLES- MT	KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL Ancts	SYMBOLS King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
59.	Yewur Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Gulburg a Dt. KN	Same as S.No. 4	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	♥◊✱≈ ▷◁◊✱≈ Ψ P X β	---	---	1. Boṛṭhādevi (W) of VK. IV (KC), 2. Jakkave (W) Taila II (KC), 3. Bhāgyavati (W) Śrī Daśavarman (KC)	III	EI, XII, pp.269-291, IA, VIII, 1875 pp.10-21
60.	Chellur Grant of Vīrachōḍa (ECV)	E. Godavar i Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SL, MRR	---	♥◊✱≈ ▷◁◊✱≈ Ψ P X β	---	---	1. Mēḍava Mahādevi (W) Vimalāḍitya (ECV) 2. Ammāṇḡa (Chōḷa dyn.) (W) of Rājarāja Narendra (ECV) 3. Madhurāṇṭaki (Chōḷa dyn.) (W) of Kulottunga I (ECV)	III	SII, I, pp. 51-62
61.	Pithapuram Pls. of Vīrachōḍa (ECV)	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	---	---	-do-	III	EI, V, 1898-99, pp.70-96
62.	Lakshmeshw ar Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Dharwa r Dt. KN	---	---	✓	---	---	---	PBT	SB, SPV, MRR, TBM	---	---	---	✱	Ēchikabbe (W) of Dūḡa (Jains)	IV	EI, XVI, 1921-22, pp.58-66
63.	Huli Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Belgau m Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	EI, XVIII, pp.178-182
64.	Tidgundi Ins. of VK.VI (KC)	Bijapur Dt. KN	---	---	✓	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✱	---	IV	EI, III, 1894 pp.306-311, IA, I, 1872, pp. 80-84
65.	Sudi Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Dharwa r Dt. KN	---	⇒	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	Lakshmādevi (W) VK. VI (KC)	IV	EI, XV, 1919 pp. 100-103

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING /DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. ANCTS	CONQUESTS King	LC	TITLES- MT	ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- AT	KING Misc	POLITICAL ANCTS	SYMBOLS King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
66.	Teki PIs. of Kulōṭṭunga Chōḍagaṅga I (ECV)	E. Godavari Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SL, MRR	---	♥ḷṣṣ ▷ḷḷḷḷ Ψ P X β	---	---	Madhurāntaki (W) Kulōṭṭunga I	III	ET, VI, 1900, pp. 334-47.
67.	Kolur Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Bellary Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SB, SPV, MRR	---	---	---	ṣṣ	---	IV	ET, XIX, pp. 189-191
68.	Sitabaldi Ins. of VK.VI (KC)	Nagpur Dt. MHR	---	---	✓	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	ET, III, 1894, pp. 304-306
69.	Alur Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	Same as SNo. 4	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	♥ḷṣṣ ▷ḷḷḷḷ Ψ P X β	---	---	1. Boṇthādevi (W) VK. IV (KC), 2. Jakkave (W) Taila II (KC)	III	IA, VIII, 1879, pp. 21-23
70.	Balagamve Ins. of VK.VI (KC)	North Kanara Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	IA, V, 1876, pp. 342-344
71.	Dombal Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	Lakshmādevī (W) of VK. VI (KC)	IV	IA, X, 1881, pp. 185-190
72.	Huli Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Belgaum Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	1. Muddikavve (W) Śōbhana-Nāyaka (LC), 2. Nāgikavve (W) Nākimayya (LC)	IV	ET, XVIII, pp. 182-189
73.	Gadag Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	Taila II= → F= →	✓	---	---	F= TLM, AVM	---	PBT	SB, SPV, MRR, TBM	---	---	---	---	1. Boṇthādevi (W) VK. IV, 2. Jakkave (W) Taila II, 3. Bāchaladevi (W) Someśvara I (KC)	III	ET, XV, 1919 pp. 348-364

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING /DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. Ancts	CONQUESTS King	LC	TITLES- MT	ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL Ancts	King	SYMBOLS LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
74.	Ganeshwadi Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Osmanab ad Dt. KN	---	---	✓	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✗	---	IV	ET, XXXVIII, 1970, pp. 289-304
75.	Lakshmeshw ar Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	-do-	---	IV	ET, XVI, 1921 pp. 31-35
76.	Huli Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Belgaum Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	ET, XVIII, pp.189-196
77.	Bairanipalli Ins. of VK.VI (KC)	Warangal Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	CITD, 1973, pp. 14-18
78.	Yewur Ins.of VK. VI (KC)	Bijapur Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	ET, XII, 1913 pp.329-331
79.	Huli Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Belgaum Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	ET, XVIII, pp. 196-199
80.	Lakshmeshw ar Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	✓	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✗	---	IV	ET, XVI, 1921 pp. 35-44
81.	Kardugari Ins. of VK.VI (KC)	-do-	---	---	✓	---	---	---	PBT	SB, SPV, MRR, TBM	---	---	---	---	1.Siriyadevi (Pāṇḍya) (W) of Śrī Śāntivar- madeva (LC)	IV	IA, X, 1881, pp. 249-255
82.	Yewur Ins. of VK.VI(KC)	Bijapur Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	ET, XII, 1913 pp. 332-333
83.	Sudi Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	→	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	III	ET, XV, 1919 pp. 105-108

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SNo	INS./ KING /DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. Ancts	CONQUESTS King	LC	TITLES- MT	ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- KING AT	Misc	POLITICAL Ancts	SYMBOLS King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
84.	Handarki Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Gulburga Dt. KN	Taila II=>	=>	=>	---	---	---	PBT	SB, SPV, MRR, TBM	---	♥♠✕≈▷♠ ♠♠♠♠ P X β	---	---	1. Bonthādevi (W) VK. IV, 2. Jakkave (W) of Taila II (KC) 3. Mahādevi (W) of Anega (LC of Kṛtavīrya lineage), 4. Bāchaladevi (W) Someśvara III(KC)	III	APGAS, No. 9, 1982
85.	Devageri Ins. of VK.VI (KC)	Chitradurg Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✕	---	IV	EI, XIX, 1926 pp. 191-94.
86.	Nilgunda Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Bellary Dt. KN	Same as S.No. 4	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	1. Bonthādevi (W) of VK. IV, 2. Jakkave (W) Taila II (KC)	IV	EI, XII, 1913-14, pp. 142-155
87.	Gundlapalli Ins. of VK.VI (KC)	Nalgonda Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✕	---	IV	EA, IV, 1975, pp. 91-92
88.	Terdal Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Bagalkot Dt. KN	---	=>	---	---	---	---	PBT	SB, SPV, MRR, TBM	---	---	---	---	Bāchaladevi (W) of Mallideva (LC)	III	IA, XIV, 1885, pp.14-26
89.	Momigatti Ins. of VK. VI (KC)	Dharwar Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	✕	Mailala mahādevi (W) of VK. VI (KC)	IV	EI, XXVII, 1923, pp. 117-120
90.	Devageri Ins. of Someśvara III (KC)	Chitradurg Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	IV	EI, XIX, pp. 183-187.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII
SN _o	INS./ KING /DYN	LOCATI ON	MIL. Ancts	CONQUESTS King	LC	TITLES- MT	ANCESTORS AT	Misc	MT	TITLES- AT	KING Misc	POLITICAL Ancts	SYMBOLS King	LC	MARRIAGE ALLIANCE	TYPE	REFERENCE
91.	Chittur Pls. Kulōṭṭunga Chōḍadēva II (ECV)	E. Godavar i Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	III	IA, XIV, 1885, pp. 55-59
92.	Badami Ins. of JKM. II (KC)	Bijapur Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	SB, SPV, MRR, JKM	--	---	---	✱	---	IV	IA, VI, 1877, pp.139-142
93.	Huli Ins. of JKM. II (KC)	Belgau m Dt. KN	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	---	---	---	Bhāgiyabberā ṇi (W) of Dema (LC)	IV	EI, XVIII, pp.172-178
94.	Lakshmeshw ar Ins. of Taila III(KC)	-do-	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	✱	---	IV	SII, XX, 1988, pp. 160-161
95.	Krivvaka Ins. of Kusumādity a (MC)	Khamm am Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	Mārb bala Keśari	---	---	---	---	---	Mahādevi (W) of Boṭṭu Beta (MC)	III	EA, II, 1974, pp.39-49; Bharati,1979 pp. 32-39
96.	Ganapavara m Ins. of Gōkarāja (NC)	W. Godavar i Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	III	K.Suryanara yana, IMCDAP, 1993, p.122
97.	Edarupalli reissued Gr. of VV (JC)	E. Godavar i Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	PBT	SL, MRR, Rājarāja	---	♥,0,✱, ≅,⋈,h, *~Ψ P, X, β	---	---	VijayāMahād evi (W) Mallapadeva (MR of JC)	III	Ibid. pp. 60- 67
98.	Pithapuram Ins. of Malla pa Deva II (JC)	E. Godavar i Dt. AP	---	---	---	---	---	---	-do-	-do-	---	-do-	---	---	-do-	III	Ibid. pp. 75- 80

CONSOLIDATED KEY- CHARTS IIA & IIB

IAG	= Ammanagandha,	RRS	= Raṇaraṇiga Sūdraka
IAK	= Arasaṅka Kēśari	RV	= Raṇa Vikrama
Ancts	= Ancestors	RVT	= Raṇa Vikrānta
ASJ	= Ārūḍha sarva jñān	SA	= Satyāśraya
AVM	= Āhavamalla	SB	= Samasta Bhuvanāśraya
B	= Brother	SCM	= Sāmanta Chūḍāmaṇi
BB	= Birudāṅka Bhīma	SL	= Sarvalōkāśraya
BT	= Bhaṭṭārakasya	SPV	= Śrī Prithvīvallabha
CB	= Chālukya Bhīma	SVP	= Śarāṅgata Vajra Paṃjaram
DYN	= Dynasty	TBM	= Tribhuvanamalla
F	= Father	TBK	= Tribhuvanaṃkuśa
GD	= Grand Daughter	TLM	= Trailōkyamalla
GF	= Grandfather	TM	= Tripurāmārtya
GGF	= Great Grand Father	TVK	= Trivikrama
GGGF	= Great Great Grand Father	UN	= Udāta Nārāyaṇan
GN	= Guṇārnavam	VD	= Vikramādhvaja
GN	= Guṇakanalla	VIJ	= Vijayāditya
GND	= Guṇa Nidhi	VK	= Vikramāditya
GV	= Guṇaga Vijayāditya	VKA	= Vikramārjuna
GVD	= Gandhēbha Vidyādharan	VMD	= Vīramakaradhvaja
INS	= Inscription	VN	= Vinayāditya
IT	= Imperial Titles	VS	= Vishamasiddhi
JKM	= Jagadekamalla	VV	= Viṣṇuvardhana
JS	= Jayasiṃha	W	= Wife
KV	= Kīrtivarman	♥	= Śvētatapatr,
KVV	= Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana	♣	= Gives simple statement of military conquests like "the king subdued a number of hostile kings" etc.
LC	= Local Chief	X	= Kanakadaṇḍa,
LP	= Local Potentate	P	= Makaratōraṇa,
MB	= Mummadi Bhīma	✳	= Paṃchamaāśābda,
MIL.	= Military	*	= Piṃchha.
Misc.	= Miscellaneous	⇒	= Refers to the places conquered by the king.
MP	= Mañuju Prākāra	Ψ	= Siṃhāsana,
MR	= Mahārāja	β	= Signs of rivers Gaṅgā-Yamuna
MRR	= Mahārājādhirāja	≅	= pālikētana,
MT	= Military Titles	◊	= Aikaśaṃkha,
NM	= Nripatimārtāṇḍa	✧	= Kuṇtha,
Nr	= Nripaḥ	⌘	= Pratidhakka,
PBT	= Parama Bhaṭṭārakasya	ṁ	= Varāhalāmchhana
PCR	= Parāchakra Rāma		
PG	= Priyagaḷlam		
PK	= Pāmbaramkuśa		
PRP	= Puru Raṇa Parākrama		
Pul.	= Pulakeśi		
PVV	= Pratyaksha Vādvali		

CHAPTER V

PATRONAGE, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Inscriptions of **the** early medieval period are largely donative in nature. They comprised three important components namely, (1) Preamble, (2) Notification and (3) Conclusion.¹ While the contents of the Preamble that formed the *prasasti* **portion of the grant has already** been **discussed by** us in the earlier two chapters, the other aspects such as **the details about the grant**, the name of the donee and his qualifications, occasion on which **the grant was** made and the purpose of the grant formed important components of the Notification. The last section on Conclusion furnishes information about those officials to whom the order was directed, details of the composer and the imprecatory verses.² From this description, it is evident that, neither **the** *prasasti* nor, the genealogical content of it should be understood as an autonomous or isolated segment of an epigraph. This is invariably linked to the grant portion of an inscription that deals with economic transactions between the patron and the recipient, which in many cases, was its main purpose. Since it is crucial for our understanding to see the inter-link between these two aspects, in this **Chapter**, we emphasize on the second part of the inscription, namely, the Notification. Its contents would enable us to comprehend the patronage patterns inherent in its very composition that would then reflect on how the different Chajukyan families **exert** social and economic control. Consequently, **the** impact of patronage patterns on the shaping of the genealogy of the ruling families and their political and social objectives can be assessed.

"Patronage" is generally defined **as an act of** giving **wealth** by a person of superior status to an artist to enable **the latter to produce** a work of art.³ However, this restricted definition overlooks the variety of social categories that participate in this process of exchange and the implications that are derived from such an activity. In this regard, it has been understood by scholars **that** the act of **patronage also has many social manifestations**.⁴ It becomes a **legitimiser of the patron**⁵ as well as, the strategy through which economic and social **control can** be **effectively exercised**. It is within the purview of this broad

understanding on the significance of patronage that, in this Chapter, we wish to interrogate how data on economic and social aspects in inscriptions were intrinsically linked to patronage patterns as they evolved among the Chajukyan families of early medieval Deccan.

To understand these processes of control, the information from the grant portion of the inscriptions has been categorized by us as follows: 1) donor-donee linkages, 2) nature of grant and its location 3) information on other social groups. The latter were not necessarily the recipients of grants but were the administrators of local areas. They are mentioned as witnesses or the executors of the grant and thus played an important role in cementing the social linkages between the donor, the donee and the people at large. This information has been charted out in Charts IIIA and IIIB appended to this Chapter. To further elaborate these categories, by donor we are referring to those patron groups who made various types of donations. They were largely drawn from the members of the ruling family such as the king, the queen, local chiefs and other dominant social groups of the society. On the other hand, donee was the one who received the grant from the patron. *Brahmanas*, temples, members of the temple staff and other social groups of the society such as merchants, etc., figured as some of the major recipients of these grants.⁶ By nature of grant, we mean the object that was given away as a grant or gift. These included larger items like a village, fields, gardens or, smaller items like commodities such as cash, betel leaves, oil and so on. Often the nature of grant also helps us to identify the region or area in terms of the location of villages or fields in fertile areas, near water resources, in forests and so on. Py witnesses who were not clearly donees, we refer to such administrative and social groups such as the *rashtrakuta pramukhas*, *kutumbins*, *vishayapatris*, *gramabhogikas*, *mahattaras*, *mahajanas* and so on apart from the writers and executors of the grant who played an important role in the control of smaller localities.

Hitherto, scholars have noticed that the general pattern of the donation of land in the early medieval period initially consisted of groups of villages or individual villages, often converted into *agraharas*, that formed the basic rural entity for control. These were initially granted either to individual *brahmanas* or

groups of *brahmanas*. However, there is now considerable research that has been done on this subject, which suggests that apart from the *brahmanas*, gradually, over a period of time, other social groups and various religious institutions also started receiving grants. Most often the type of grants given to such diverse social groups were not necessarily villages but smaller units of land measured in *nivartanas*, *khandikas* and so on. Sometimes even house sites, flower gardens, a part of the revenues of villages, etc., were given as gifts or grants. In this context, we would like to focus on the changes in the nature of donations as prefixed by different TYPES genealogies in the *prasastis* that have been identified for the present study. Such a study particularly, enables us to analyze the extent and depth of economic control over smaller territorial units of land located in different spatial contexts constituting the rural, urban and provincial spaces identified through various institutional and administrative mechanisms in the inscriptions taken up for analysis in the present study.

While taking up a study of these issues, therefore, we emphasize on looking at both the notions of time and space but in way that is different from the way we have discussed in chapters III and IV, respectively. In Chapter III we had dealt with the linkage of larger units of time such as the mythical or cosmological time, the historical or linear time and political or time of eras and regnal years to the different types of genealogies. In Chapter IV we had taken up the definition of large units of territorial and social space and how it impinged on the way these families looked at their past. In this Chapter, on the other hand, we have looked at the smaller units of time and space. The former in the data described below, is expressed in terms of the year, month, fortnight, day and its breakup into hours and minutes⁷ to specify the occasion on which the grant was made. These are mentioned in the inscriptions through the use of such terms as *samvatsara*, (or the cyclic year), *masa*⁸ (Month), *paksa*⁹ (fortnight), *tithi*¹⁰ (Lunar day) and *vara*¹¹ (Luni-solar Weekday), *nakshatra*¹² (Star), *lagna* (Constellation), and *muhurta* or the auspicious moment and lastly, the seasonal cycle of the year, *rtus* or season.¹³ Thapar calls these different categories of time as ritual or seasonal time that revolved around the cycles of nature and are said to have evolved from the routine

agrarian activities of a given society.¹⁴ The year was also sometimes divided on the basis of the northern and southern courses of the sun known as the respective solstice - *uttarayana* and *daksinayana*.¹⁵ Further, the solar and the lunar eclipses too were often mentioned in inscriptions thus making note of exceptional celestial events and manifestations. These natural events caused due to the movements of the sun, moon and the earth were as per appropriate calculations considered as important auspicious occasions on which grants could be normally made. Inauspicious time moments were naturally avoided in this regard. Therefore, these occasions signified important markers of specific time that came to be recorded in inscriptions. This understanding of time reckoning was in total contrast to the cyclic and mythic notions of time that co-existed with these but in the *prasasti* sections of the inscriptions. We hypothesize by analyzing the evolution of 'real' and specific notions of time in the grant portions we can contrast them with the notions of time in the different TYPES of genealogical narratives, delineated for the present study. This then becomes crucial for our understanding of how this specific or 'real' time could provide an authenticity to the ruling elite claims for an identity by being firmly rooted in a more contemporary situation expressing control over the region that had been conquered rather, than only laying claims on an imagined past to achieve an effective identity.

The aspect of space in this Chapter naturally also dwells on small units like villages and fields that can be contrasted with the larger units of control the conquering armies tried to galvanize on in our discussions of the previous Chapter. Territorial extension and the control of the larger units of space through socio-political mechanisms of military conquests and marriage alliances was one aspect of exerting control. However, in this Chapter on the other hand, we intend to move on to focus on how the control of smaller units of space such as villages and fields was equally important and rooted in local and regional issues. This was made possible through a pragmatic and effective approach of donating land grants and thereby, controlling revenues and production of these areas alongside a comprehensive and systematic linkage with social groups at various levels of regional control.

II

This brings us to analyzing in detail the mechanism of control that operated through evolving patronage patterns over the conquered territories. The idea of patronage is grounded on the notion of an exchange between the patron and the recipient. In the ancient Indian historical tradition this notion was rooted in the concept of *dana* and *daksina*.¹⁶ *Dana* etymologically means giving or gifting materials such as gold, cattle, etc.¹⁷ However, a change was perceived in the concept of *dana* from the early medieval period onwards, when land predominantly replaced the earlier practice of gifting cattle, gold etc., as a major commodity of gift exchange.¹⁸ Further, *dana* came to be considered a religious gift and therefore, the *brahmana* and later the temple, came to be designated as the most appropriate recipients. This process of gift exchange between the patron and the recipient had a distinct purpose and this was envisaged in terms of the latter composing *prasastis* for his patron. It bestowed him with immortality and enhanced his social status.¹⁹ In this sense therefore, patronage should be seen as a reciprocal act that provided the patron with legitimacy as well as an identity in a society²⁰ and, in return, the recipient got economic subsistence. Further, patronage patterns also helped the patron to control the diverse social groups at the regional and local level who had considerable influence in society. Hence, the study of patronage patterns in the context of the present study would be useful to understand the nexus between the donor and donee of the grants made by the Chajukyan families so as to grasp the social and economic control that was exercised by them, during the early medieval period.

Understanding the nature of donor as a patron is important because, basically it is this group that attempts to expand its socio-political and ideological base through the mechanism of donating various types of grants and thus, create an identity and stable authority for itself. Similarly, understanding the nature of donee helps us to learn about those social groups that play a crucial role in disseminating their patron's ideology, and simultaneously, acting as political and social mediators in controlling the society. A study of these recipient groups therefore, will enable us to analyze

more effectively the purpose for which grants were made to certain social groups and religious institutions in different temporal and spatial contexts. Information regarding the names of the donor and donee along with their status and qualifications and other information pertaining to their genealogies and eulogistic accounts about them are directly referred to in the inscriptional sources of the present study. It may be pointed out that the information available is not static but shows variations in two different Phases of our study.

It is pertinent to reiterate here that in the preceding chapter, we had discussed that during the beginning of the early medieval period, the Deccan had witnessed the rise of a new regional polity under the early Chalukyas of Badami. Further, it had been argued that since the primary locus of the state in its core area did not possess sufficient resources to meet the material requirements of the ruling elite, it had become a necessity for them to annex those territories that were rich in resources. Such territories included the raw material producing areas, the areas that controlled trade routes and areas that included fertile tracts. These conquests made the king a kind of owner of the entire land in terms of its disposal and sale. In fact, this theory was also upheld in the legal texts of the period, in which it was indicated that the entire land belonged to the ruling authority. This theory of royal ownership was justified through the practice of donating large-scale land grants to priests and temples, vassals and officials, in return for their services.²¹ In the early medieval context donation of land grants had become necessary for not only controlling and mobilizing resources but also to gain social and political identity in these newly conquered regions.²² Initially, land grants to immigrant *brahmapas* well versed in vedic knowledge was regarded as crucial, as these groups played a legitimizing role for their patron." Another important feature that was noted during the latter half of the early medieval period, in the Deccan was the proliferation of temple building activity with reference to a Jaina and the Puranic Hindu institutions. During this period, temple not only emerged as a major integrative force for various social groups to become part of the State machinery but also acted as a legitimizer of political power that helped in extending the horizons of control at different levels of the societal structure.²⁴

In the context of Phase 1, where we have both TYPE I and TYPE II genealogical data, we have noted that in TYPE I the king as the owner of the entire land emerges as the primary patron. In this regard, we have about 52 out of 60 examples in which the king is mentioned as the donor of the grant (Chart IIIA, 2-10, 12, 13, 15-19, 22-33, 35, 36, 39-41, 45, 62, 63, 68, 70, 71, 77-86, 95). However, sometimes, we also have instances where the king made donations at the request of others such as, the Queen, the local chiefs etc. In this regard, we have three examples where the king is mentioned as having donated the gift at the request of his chief Queen (Chart IIIA, 42-44). In 3 other instances, he made gifts of land at the request of a local chief (Chart IIIA, 14, 37, 38). Besides this, we also have three examples that mentioned the involvement of the Chief Queen in the process of making land donations (Chart IIIA, 20, 21, 67). Nonetheless, in all these examples, it is basically the main ruler and the members of his family who emerged as the donors. Further, we noted that almost all the gifts that were made by the king and other members of the ruling family were given invariably to the *brahmanas*. However, the data reveals three different varieties of *brahmanas* as recipients. These are (1) Vedic *brahmanas* proficient in the *Vedas*, *Sastras*, *Smrtis* and other traditional sciences drawing on a pan-Indian tradition. (2) *Brahmanas* belonging to a priestly class performing *pūja* in temples and shrines and (3) *Brahmanas* belonging to the autochthonous groups. Among these, the largest number of about 39 examples out of 60 referred to Vedic *brahmanas* as recipients. Out of these 25 *brahmanas* are mentioned as individual recipients of the land (Chart IIIA, 4-6, 9, 10, 13, 16, 17, 20, 21, 25-32, 35, 37-40, 44, 45, 62, 63, 67, 70, 71, 77-82, 84, 86). On the other hand, in 14 other examples *brahmanas* ranging between 2 to several groups are mentioned as recipients of gifts of land, in which case the gift was apportioned into various parts so that it could be shared by them (Chart IIIA, 2, 7, 8, 15, 18, 19, 22-25, 29, 36, 42, 43). According to R. S. Sharma, donations to *brahmanas* as scholars is significant as these grantees brought new ideological and technological knowledge which improved cultivation and, at the same time inculcated in the local populations with a sense of loyalty to the established order which was upheld by the rulers, who could therefore dispense with the service of extra staff for maintaining law and order.²⁵ However, it has been

postulated that the most important function of the immigrant *brahmanas* was to provide religious and political legitimation to the new ruling elites. This has been regarded by Kulke as "an urgent necessity in order to claim a regular system of imposts and later revenues. This happened in different ways. One way for the *brahmanas* was to create genealogies connecting to the mythical past. Further, *brahmanas* vested the new ruler with the paraphernalia of Hindu royalty".²⁶

The second group of *brahmanas* mentioned in TYPE I genealogies were the *brahmanas* who were appointed as priests in either Saivite or Jaina temples. Some of them even served as spiritual preceptors to individual kings. In this regard, we have only three examples. While in 2 instances, the king is stated to have made a grant to a priest of a Saivite temple (**Chart IIIA, 3, 12**), in one instance, a Jaina preceptor is mentioned as the donee (**Chart IIIA, 68**). This meager number of religious endowments to temple priests indicates that the temple building activity had probably just emerged as an important aspect of religious patronage. In this regard, one can therefore, assume that its patronage was more a symbolic act rather than indicating the actual process of control.

Yet another groups of *brahmanas* who have been found mentioned in inscriptions and patronized by kings were the *bdya brahmanas*. *Bdya* in Telugu means a savage, barbarian, inhabitant of a forest, etc. They were actually an autochthonous group of tribes inhabiting the border regions of the present day Nellore District of Andhra Pradesh.²⁷ Their primary pursuits were in hunting and gathering. The ethnographic accounts of the British officials have described them as an 'old fighting caste'.²⁸ In the early medieval period the strength of the *bdya* chiefs was a potential threat to the authority of the Eastern Chajukyas. Because of their militant character and their prowess in fighting, the services of the *boyas* were deemed necessary by the new ruling elites to consolidate their power in an alien land. Subsequently, a considerable number of *bdya* priests were given land grants in the form of *agrahara* villages. The earliest reference to *bdya brahmanas* as receiving grants from the main ruler

has been found in the Reyuru grant²⁹ of Visnuvardhana II. In this record, it is stated that fifty-nine *boya brahmanas* were granted with the gift of different villages in Karmarashtra (**Chart IIIA, 33**). Similarly, from the Chendaluru³⁰ inscription of Sarvalokasraya Marigi Yuvaraja too, we learn that *boya brahmanas* were conferred with land grants (**Chart IIIA, 41**). On the other hand, in the Kondanaguru³¹ grant of Indravarman, *boyas* were mentioned, *nrX* as recipients of the grant, but as witnesses and the grant also contains their signatures. This indicates the recognition of a high socio-economic status for these particular *Bdyas*, namely, the *boyas* in the village of Kondanaguru.³² The process of giving land grants to the *boyas* leads to their acculturation³³ and indicates the first attempt being made by the Eastern Chalukyas to breakup the solidarity of the *boyas* as a separate group and reconcile some of them to their newly established rule through conferring land grants to their priests. The *boyas* also had to be placated on the political front as they acted as the buffers between their own kingdom and the troublesome *kottams* of the Pallava kingdom.³⁴

Besides the above, under TYPE I there are isolated references to the inhabitants of a village as a whole mentioned as being gifted with the village (**Chart IIIA, 85**). In another instance, a warrior (**Chart IIIA, 95**) is stated to have been assigned with the gift of a village in return for the services he rendered. Thus, it is evident that the principal actors in the patronage patterns in TYPE I were mainly the king and the *brahmana*, though isolated references to other social groups were also present.

With the political expansion reaching its peak during the second half of Phase 1, a period when TYPE II genealogies are predominant, *brahmanas* still dominated the picture as major recipients of land grants and the king and the members of his family as their major patrons. However, the presence of a significant number of examples in this TYPE shows the emergence of other social groups as recipients of grants along with *brahmanas*. This is an important pointer of change discerned for the grant data appended to TYPE II genealogies.

The nature of donees found mentioned in grants of inscriptions belonging to TYPE II undergoes a significant change. In this TYPE, the principal donees, who emerged as recipients of grants include: (1) Vedic *brahmanas*, (2) *brahmanas* occupying important administrative posts, (3) warrior communities, (4) merchant (5) musician, (6) temples of Puranic Gods and (7) Jaina basadis. This clearly indicates to a gradual extension of the patronage patterns to a variety of important social groups. This has direct impact on the donations made to *brahmanas* who, though they continued to receive grants on a large-scale, in comparison to TYPE I, their numbers dramatically come down to only 35 instances as against 52 in TYPE I. Out of these, we have only 22 examples, where references to individual *brahmanas* as a recipients of the grants is made (Chart IIIA, 34, 46, 48, 49, 54, 56, 57, 60, 66, 73, 74, 76, 88, 92, 96, 103, 105, 108-110, 113, 116). On the other hand, in about 7 instances, groups of *brahmanas* ranging between 2 to 100 are mentioned as recipients. Thus, in two instances, the record simply states that group of *brahmanas* are the donees (Chart IIIA, 53, 55). In other instance, two *brahmanas* (Chart IIIA, 50), four *brahmanas* (Chart IIIA, 52), eight *brahmanas* (Chart IIIA, 58), eighty-six *brahmanas* (Chart IIIA, 89) and hundred *brahmanas* (Chart IIIA, 87) are mentioned as being recipients of land grants. Reference to such large groups of *brahmanas* receiving grants may indicate their migrations into the Deccan, since political expansion was taking place during this period scholars suggests that most of the time these periods coincide with the migration of *brahmanas* to new seats of power.³⁵ They were highly qualified ritual specialists who by virtue of their knowledge played an important role in the dissemination of the brahmanical ideology in newly conquered tracts and thus, were able to control the autochthonous groups through acculturation.³⁶ Hence, these groups were patronized by the king and sometimes even his family members by donating them land grants, either in the form of big villages or, in the form of small pieces of land.

The next groups of *brahmanas* that we come across in TYPE II and those who, significantly, are not mentioned in TYPE I, are the *brahmapa* officials in the bureaucratic structure of the times. In this regard, we have three

examples. For instance, in one example a *brahmana* heading the department of writing was mentioned as a donee (**Chart III A, 106**). In another instance, a *brahmana* who was elevated to a status of an *amatya*³⁷ and a *samanta*³⁸ was stated as beneficiary of the grant for the maintenance of the temple that he had built (**Chart IIIA, 115**). In yet another example, a *brahmana* who was a minister under a local chief was mentioned as a recipient of the donation (**Chart IIIA, 112**). Patronage of these *brahmanas* efficient in administration was perhaps a reward given to them in recognition of their valuable services and also for their maintenance. Such an act of patronage, however, was also the need of the hour, as their services were needed in controlling society at large in the newly conquered territories. In two other instances *brahmana* students were encouraged to undertake further learning and a gift of land given for their maintenance thereby nurturing future agents of control through the promotion of education among the *brahmanas* (**Chart IIIA, 97, 98**).

Another significant development in the patronage pattern that comes up in TYPE II is an extended encouragement given to the warrior class who had rendered loyal services during the war. It has been noted earlier that the political expansion during this period was at its height. This was no doubt achieved with the help of military generals and the brave warriors who fought in several battles on behalf of their king and won for him several victories necessitating the king to reward his subordinates for such service. In this regard, we have about 6 examples. For instance, the Masulipatam plates³⁹ of Amma I of the Eastern Chalukyan dynasty, mentions one *senadhipati*⁴⁰ Mahakala being felicitated with a gift of village for the services he had rendered to the king (**Chart IIIA, 93**). Similarly, Ederu plates⁴¹ of Amma I mentions a warrior by name Kuntaditya of the Pattavardhani family as a beneficiary of the grant for his services (**Chart IIIA, 94**). In two other instances, a local chief of the Haihaya family and the local chief of the Pattavardhani family respectively, were honored by the king for their military services by donating villages to them (**Chart IIIA, 99, 107**). In another instance, two princes of the minor Chalukyan family of Mudigonda were granted with 300 villages for their loyal support (**Chart IIIA, 117**). This is significant and implies that the Chajukyan

family had either kinship relations with them or they were loyal subordinates who had to be exceedingly pacified and therefore a large number of villages were granted to them. In another interesting example, the wife of a local chief by name Vijayaditya of the Katarakaya family was stated to have received a gift of a village in memory of the services rendered by her husband, who lost his life on the battle field (Chart IIIA, 90). These instances are an indicative of a strategy through which the State was apparently trying to reward, pacify and control powerful military chiefs to avert the danger of dissidence from these groups, whose support was certainly considered crucial for the stability of the State. This however, resulted in the emergence of a class of warriors as landholders and got firmly articulated in the rise of the *samanta* system, which according to B. N. S. Yadava, was the key method to understand the nature of Indian feudalism.⁴² These *samantas* apart from paying yearly tributes also, rendered military services to the State. On the contrary, B. D. Chattopadhyaya, pertinently postulates that this system did not emerge from the decentralization of the Chalukyan State but rather, should be looked upon as a means of integrating different localities conquered into an economically viable system of political governance.⁴³

Apart from the *brahmana* and the warrior communities, we have also noted examples where other social groups such as merchants, musicians etc. are mentioned as recipients of grants. In this regard, in one instance, a merchant (*setti*) is said to have been honored with a gift of a village (Chart IIIA, 89). In turn, he restored a part of it to the owner of land as a sign of magnanimity. In another example, a female musician was gifted with a village (Chart IIIA, 91). Grants to these groups were made directly by the king and this indicates that individual instances such as these were known for their prominence and thus held in special respect. Interestingly, donations to these economic and cultural groups were limited in Phase 1, especially in terms of their being recipients of large grants.

Reference to priestly *brahmanas* who performed rituals, *pujas* etc., as donee is mentioned in only one instance wherein the priests of a Saivite temple are said to be recipients (Chart IIIA, 111). In a similar vein we noted two

examples where the temple is referred to as donee. In this context in one example, a Sun temple located at Vemulavada was mentioned as the recipient of a gift of land (Chart IIIA, 102) and in another instance, simply a temple without its affiliation has been mentioned as a beneficiary of a grant (Chart IIIA, 61). In another instance, a *danasala* (Charity house) attached to the temple was given a donation for its upkeep (Chart IIIA, 47). Donations to these temples were made by the king and, in one instance, he makes the grant at the request of a temple official (Chart IIIA, 102).

The above lack of grants to priests and Saivite temples has to be noted against the background of the fact that the grants to the Jaina temples had considerably increased in TYPE II when compared to TYPE I. In this regard, we noted 8 examples that refer to the priests of the Jaina temples as donees, (Chart IIIA, 47, 59, 64, 65, 72, 101, 104, 114). It has also been pertinently noted that most of the grants made by the king to these temples were made at the behest of others. Thus, in two instances, the king made donations to a Jaina temple at the request of a Jaina priest (Chart IIIA, 47, 65). In 2 other instances, he made a grant on the appeal of a local chief (Chart IIIA, 59, 64). In yet another instance, he obeyed the plea of his queen (Chart IIIA, 104) and in yet another instance he makes the grant at the request of a *Sresthi* (merchant) (Chart IIIA, 72). Thus, we perceive that most of the religious grants to temples in both TYPE I and II were made by the king are on behalf of others. This also indicates the important role these groups played in the society for the royalty to recognize them through providing patronage. Further, the meager number of examples to temples in this Phase indicates that temple has not yet come to be recognized as an effective agent of social control. It also indicates that the religious affiliation of individuals and groups other than the king or the donating authority had to be reckoned with most likely because they were people of respect and social status in the newly conquered areas.

In the context of Phase 2, where we have TYPE III and TYPE IV genealogical data to which the grant portion of inscriptions were suffixed, one has pertinently noted some significant changes both in the nature of the donor and as well as the donee as part of the patronage networks being thus created.

Further, sub-regional variations are perceptible particularly, in the context of the TYPE III data. Thus, for instance, we note that in the inscriptions belonging to the Eastern Deccan, the records reveal that in majority cases the king remained the principal donor as we have about 14 examples where the king of the Chalukyan family has been mentioned as the donor (Chart IIIB, 7, 11, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 61, 68, 96-98). Only in one instance the donor is mentioned as a *Dandadhinatha*⁴ (Chart IIIB, 91). Therefore, keeping in mind the vast capacity of the donor, it is not unusual to find that most of the grants made went to the *brahmanas*. The *brahmanas*, during this period, composed particularly eulogistic *prasastis* for the king and his ancestors and invented traditions that connected the origins of the Chalukyan families to the legendary families of the *Candravamsa* and the *Suryavarnsa* of Epic and *Puranic* fame. Hence, the kings patronized them for their ideological role they played in elevating their status. In this regard, we have come across 8 examples where the *brahmana* or groups of *brahmanas* are mentioned as the donees (Chart IIIB, 7, 11, 20, 36, 44, 53, 54, 61). However, this does not mean that temple patronage was totally absent in the eastern Deccan. Though the proliferation of temple building activity is not as vigorous here as in the western Deccan, we do have a few instances where the temples are mentioned as recipients of grants. In this regard, we noted that in three instances, a Saivite temple (Chart IIIB, 19, 96, 97) and in two instances a Vaisnavite temple (Chart IIIB, 6.00, 98) are mentioned as being patronized by the kings of various Chalukyan families. It is further, found that the above grants were made by the kings of the minor Chalukyan families of Nidadavolu and Jananathapuram (Chart IIIB, 96-98). The donations made by these minor Chalukyan families indicate that they were powerful local families that exercised considerable influence in their locality having a strong socio-economic status in their respective regions of control. Some grants were also made to oil mongers (*Telikis*) in TYPE III (Chart IIIB, 68). Their mention indicates that the agrarian economy was growing so as to be able to sustain local trade and commerce during this period in the Eastern Deccan.

In fact, this process had already developed to a great extent in the Western Deccan. This can be gauged from the nature of evidence that is

available in the inscriptions from the Western Deccan. With the growth of the agrarian economy and trade and commerce that was largely facilitated by establishment of temples as consumers of various products, we note that there is a tremendous increase in the patronage to the temple particularly, from among the local level social elite. Hence, it is not surprising to witness that in this part of the Deccan, though we have few examples where the king is mentioned as the patron, in most cases, we find the participation of other dominant social groups in the patronage patterns. Thus, it has been noted that for TYPE III, we have only three examples where the king is mentioned as the donor and the *brahmana* as the donee (Chart IIIB, 4, 14, 69). However, in one example it is found that the king made the grant to a Saivite temple at the request of a *brahmana* (Chart IIIB, 57) and in another he was requested by a *sandhivigrahi*⁴⁵ to make a grant to the temple (Chart IIIB, 59). Apart from this, we also have examples where other prominent members of the society who also had political and administrative power were involved in the process of bestowing gifts and making grants. In this regard, we have two different instances each that mentioned the *Mahamandalesvara*⁴⁶ (Chart IIIB, 10, 84) and the *Mahasamanta*⁴⁷ (Chart IIIB, 83, 88) as the donors of the grant. Other members of society who figure prominently as the donors in TYPE III include, a *brahmana* (Chart IIIB, 60), *Mahajanas*⁴⁸ (Chart IIIB, 69) and a priest (Chart IIIB, 73). Significantly, the grants made by these groups are found to be only religious endowments made to different temples. In terms of the recipients we found 6 examples that referred to the Saivite temple as the donee (Chart IIIB, 10, 57, 59, 69, 83, 84). Besides, we also have two examples where a Brahma temple (Chart IIIB, 10) and a Jaina temple (Chart IIIB, 88) figured among the recipients of the grant.

This process of making religious endowments to temples is found further augmented in the context of data that is suffixed to TYPE IV genealogies. Besides temples, we now also have evidence of larger variety of social groups receiving grants. Thus, in TYPE IV we have reference to (1) temples that emerged as major recipients, (2) staff of these temples, (2) *brahmanas* and *Mahajanas*, (3) Social groups representing local level polity and (4) members from trading communities. For the first time we find that the donors too come

from different strata of society. Thus we have, (1) kings from the main ruling family, (2) *brahmans* and *mahajanas*, (3) local chiefs, (4) social groups representing rural level polity, (5) merchant communities, (6) temple staff, (7) other prominent members of the society and (8) women. Reference to greater variety of donors and donees in Phase 2, in contrast to Phase 1, where we have evidence of only kings and *brahmanas* as the principal donors and donees, indicate that by this phase, a complex structure of dependence and interdependence in society had evolved. What is of some significance to note is that both donors and donees come from similar social backgrounds, but obviously from different localities. It can be clearly discerned that there was the rise of a local level elite who had socio-political prominence and thereby wielded considerable power in the society.⁴⁹ That these people were able to make gifts to the temples and *brahmanas* is suggestive of their rising economic status too. Thus, the social structure during this period appears both fluid and complex. As a result, the control of these variegated groups cannot be determined with certainty. The best way for the State to exert some semblance of control was to encourage proliferation of temples, as these could become centripetal forces for regulating various cultural entities.³⁰ Thus, by the beginning of Phase 2 i.e., from about the 11th century onwards, one can envisage the emergence of temple as an epicenter attracting all sections of the society cutting across caste/class barriers. Patronage of temples has thus become a highly significant practice with repercussions for many facets of social, political and economic life. Temples offered arenas for formation of new socio-political identities and the patronage of specific temples was often motivated by such factors.⁵¹

Religions that dominated the Deccan landscape during Phase 2 of our study, were Saivism and Jainism that are both mentioned with their distinct monastic affiliations. Hence, we found that most of the grants were made to the temples representing broadly these two religious creeds. Thus, we have noted about 37 instances exemplifying grants to the Saivite temple or the chief priests of a Siva Temple **(Chart IIIA, 120) (Chart IIIB, 1, 13, 16, 17, 29, 30, 32-35, 40, 43, 46-49, 51, 52, 56, 58, 65, 70, 72, 74-76, 78-82, 85, 87, 90, 93, 94)**. To some of these temples were attached the *mathas*, for

cash and jewels had to be registered. All, this required a large number of functionaries. This empowered the temple to exercise control over the local population, through emerging as a big employer, providing jobs for the drummers, dancers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, etc. Sometimes, we notice that these functionaries in the temples also received some form of patronage from the local people. In this regard, we have come across examples that illustrate grants bestowed to the ascetics, students, teachers, and other staff of the temple. We have one instance where some ascetics and pupils (**Chart IIIB, 9**) of the temple are mentioned as recipients of a gift. Similarly, we also have references to a lady ascetic (**Chart IIIB, 46**), a teacher (**Chart IIIB, 72**), *vamsigargge* (flute player), *kalkutiga* (Stone cutter) (**Chart IIIB, 17**), *parekaragge* (drummer) (**Chart IIIB, 17, 58**), *koylalis* (temple women) and a trained damsel (**Chart IIIB, 58**) and the Staff of one *yirapurusa* hall (**Chart IIIB, 12**) all mentioned as donees in separate examples. However, though all these groups are mentioned as recipients, the grants they received were in actuality monopolized by the temple. Thus, the institution of the temple was able to control the local society in a number of ways by becoming as a nerve-centre of all socio-economic and socio-cultural activities during this period.

The necessity to patronize different religious creeds emanates from their role as authorities conferring legitimacy to particular structures of power that also underlies their ideological purpose.⁵³ This necessitated that an individual or a group consciously patronizes a particular religious faith. In this regard, religious patronage emerged as a mechanism through which an individual or a group acquired and asserted specific identities through formulating ideological strategies.^{***} Religious patronage by an individual also helped in promoting her/his social identity that was manifested in genealogical traditions wherein the memory of the predecessor played a crucial role in enhancing the social prestige of the individual. This provided an incentive to document religious gifts permanently in the form of stone inscriptions on the temple walls.⁵⁵ Consequently, we notice many social groups participating in gift giving to temples. In this regard, we discerned that, in contrast to TYPE I and TYPE II where the kings and members of the ruling family can be seen as the major patrons, in the context of TYPE IV, we find that the patrons of temples were drawn from different social groups. The fact that the local level elite were able

to make gifts indicates to their rise in socio-economic status. Therefore, at the level of patrons to the temples we find references to (1) local potentates such as the *mahamandalesvaras*, *mahasamantas* and *dandanayakas*, besides the local chiefs of notable families like the Nolambas, (2) village level functionaries like the *gavunda*⁵⁷, *nargavunda*⁵⁷, *talabogi*⁵⁶, *perjurpkada*⁵⁹, *surpkhaverggade*, *perggade*, *senabdvā*⁶⁰, *reddi*⁶¹ and householders. (3) *Brahmanas* and *Mahajanas*, (4) merchant communities like the *settis*⁶², (5) Guilds like that of the goldsmiths eJf., and (6) women gtf. In this context, we noticed that among the local potentates donating grants to the temple, we have 11 examples where the *mahamandalesvara* is referred to as the patron (**Chart IIIB, 29, 35, 37, 42, 46, 50, 51, 72, 80, 81, 94**). Next, we have 8 examples that exemplify the *mahasamanta* as the donor to various temples (**Chart IIIB, 8, 16, 28, 46, 52, 85, 87, 90**). Besides, in 6 instances *dandanayaka*, is mentioned as the patron (**Chart IIIB, 45, 57, 63, 69, 76, 93**). In 2 other instances the local chief of a Nolamba family is mentioned as the donor (**Chart IIIA, 118-120**) (**Chart IIIB, 15, 45**). From this, it appears that the local potentates were initially the landed magnates who wielded considerable economic power in their localities. Their rise to such economic prominence can be attributed to their creation as agents of central authority in small rural areas.

The next important category of donors that we have in the context of TYPE IV are the village level functionaries. In this regard, we noticed that the *gavunda* as the patron of different temples is mentioned in 6 instances (**Chart IIIB, 18, 21, 24, 28, 70, 91**). On the other hand, reference to *nargavunda* occurs in one example (**Chart IIIB, 28**). Similarly, we have reference to other social groups of the society such as the *talabogi* (**Chart IIIB, 58**), *perjurpkada* (**Chart IIIB, 56**), *surpkhaverggade* (**Chart IIIB, 58, 87**), *perggade* (**Chart IIIB, 76, 93**), *senabova* (**Chart IIIB, 70**), *reddi* (**Chart IIIB, 77**), householders (**Chart IIIB, 58**) tenants (**Chart IIIB, 1**) and a physician (*vaidyaratnakara*) (**Chart IIIB, 21**). Reference to all these groups at the village level of political authority indicates their urge to be seen as visible participants in the making of the temple's institutional and social base.

Besides these administrative groups, the *brahmanas* (**Chart IIIB, 6, 9, 13, 48, 63**) and *Mahajananas* (**Chart IIIB, 12, 79**) continue to remain as important patrons. Some *brahmanas* emerging whereas in the earlier examples of TYPE I, II and III they primarily appear as donees. This point to an interesting change as it indicates to their transformation into an important economic class by the 11th century AD. That the economy during this period was also progressing meant that there was a greater circulation of wealth encouraged due to vigorous mercantile activity that enabled the growth of merchant communities. These communities, in course of time, emerged as wealthy sections of the society and to have a prestigious social identity they too participated in the patronage of temples. In this regard, we have one example that refers to a *setti* as the donor (**Chart IIIB, 22**). In two other instances, the assemblies of *settis* are mentioned as donors (**Chart IIIB, 70, 71**). Further, we also have examples where the employees of the temple parted away some of their shares in the form of gifts to the temple. In this regard, we have reference to *Koylalis* (temple women) (**Chart IIIB, 58**), priests (**Chart IIIB, 78**), guilds of stone cutters (*kalkuttiga*) and *kamchagara* (Blacksmith) (**Chart IIIB, 82**), *kumbhararu* (potter), and *gatrigas* (**Chart IIIB, 88**) who are mentioned as donors. Curiously, in three other instances, local persons, without revealing their designation, have also made grants (**Chart IIIB, 47, 49, 81**). The items they donated were of considerable economic value and therefore, it was natural that they were seen as important assets to the temple.

One of the more striking aspects of the donations to the temple in this TYPE is the reference to a number of women donors. In this regard, we have the examples where women as the wife of the main ruler (**Chart IIIB, 32, 34, 46**), the mother of a local chief (**Chart IIIB, 63**), the woman as a local chief (**Chart IIIB, 31**), the wife of local chief (**Chart IIIB, 2, 17, 65, 81**) and as the daughter of a Local potentate (**Chart IIIB, 27**) have been mentioned as the donors. This clearly reflects that women may have enjoyed a considerable economic freedom during this period, which made it possible for them to enjoy the right to dispose property at their will.

grants is very limited and we have only 5 examples where a *brahmana* (Chart IIIA, 119) and groups of *brahmanas* (Chart IIIB, 6, 9, 13, 25) are mentioned to have received grants. As is well known, in some villages *brahmanas* were members of assemblies and these members in most parts of the Deccan came to be designated as *Mahajanas*. These assemblies played a crucial role at the local level polity. Sometimes, the local chiefs conferred grants to the *Mahajanas* (Assembly of *brahmanas*) as exemplified in these examples (Chart IIIB, 5, 9, 35, 55).

Apart from this, we also have examples of administrative groups of the State such as the *samantas* (Chart IIIB, 64), *dandanayakas*, *karanams*⁶⁹ and *nayakas*⁷⁰ (Chart IIIB, 77), *gavundas* (Chart IIIB, 67) who were mentioned as the donees. Further, important socio-economic groups such as the *settis* also figure as donees in a couple of examples (Chart IIIB, 22, 41). In one instance, a householder is mentioned as the donee (Chart IIIB, 41). Grants to these various groups were usually made by the influential wealthy families in the society. In this regard, we come across references to *mahamandalesvara* (Chart IIIB, 35, 46, 64, 65, 69), *Dandanayaka* (Chart IIIB, 9), the ministers of the State (Chart IIIB, 41), *ur-odeya*⁷¹ (Chart IIIB, 6, 22), *gavunda* (Chart IIIA, 120) (Chart IIIB, 5, 25), *brahmana* (Chart IIIB, 13) as the prominent donors. Apart from them, we have instances where there is reference to *settis* or *settiguttas*⁷² (Chart IIIB, 22, 70, 71, 88), *nakaras* (Chart IIIB, 88), a betel trader (Chart IIIB, 3), a *reddi* (Chart IIIB, 77) also are mentioned as donors. An increase in the great number of merchant groups mentioned, both as donors and donees, indicates a growth in the commercial activities and enhanced economic development in the post 10th century AD period.

In the light of the above discussion on different kinds of donor-donee relationships that emerged in all four TYPES of genealogies in both Phase 1 and Phase 2, it would be pertinent to analyze whether the socio-economic relationship between these above groups has any impact on the nature of genealogy. Pertinently, we noted in Chapter IV that the Chalukyas in their

initial stages of rise to political power did not extend their territorial control beyond their core area. As new ruling elites in the region, the kings in order to enhance the agrarian base of the kingdom relied heavily on the *brahmanas* who by their new knowledge not only improved cultivation but, on the politico-ideological front conferred validation to the political power of the king.⁷³ Hence, we noted in the above discussions in TYPE I that the kings **predominantly** patronized the *brahmanas* by giving to them land grants in the form of villages. In return the *brahmana* prepared genealogical *prasasti* for the king. However, significantly in TYPE I, as described by us in Chapter III the genealogies are not lengthy but are short pedigrees extending only up to three generations. This means that the *brahmanas* in TYPE I only wrote short pedigrees for the king. But in TYPE II, when the spatial expansion was its peak due to vigorous military campaigns of the kings, it was found that the genealogical records evinced a change by recording genealogies that now extended up to several generations. Further, we have pertinently noted in this TYPE that though the king as the donor and the *brahmana* as the donee still continued to dominate yet, at the same time, we have noted perceptible visibility of other social groups such as warriors, musicians, merchants and institutions like temples that emerged as donees. With *regard* to the nature of donor too, one could clearly discern that apart from the king, we have references to other members of the ruling family such as the queen, prince, local chiefs, etc., participating directly in the donative process. Curiously, in their donative records, we notice that the nature of TYPE II genealogies remained unchanged continuing the lengthy genealogies of the king. A similar situation is noted in the context of TYPE III in Phase 2. In Chapter IV, we have noted fragile political situation during this period that threatened the stability of the kingdom. Consequently, we noticed the fabrication of lengthy mythical and semi-historical genealogies that connected the ruling family's ancestry with the legendary *Suryavamsa* and *Candravamsa* lineages of the hoary past. One had noted that in this **TYPE** especially in the Eastern Deccan, the king was the main donor and most of **the** grants were made to the *brahmanas*. However, grants were also **made** to temples. On the other hand, in the Western Deccan, apart from the king other dominant social groups such as the *mahamandalesvara*, *mahajanas*, priests etc., were also **mentioned as** donors. Likewise, we evidenced that **apart from**

brahmanas, Saivite, Vaisnavite and Jaina temples are also mentioned as principal donees. Nonetheless, the mythical genealogies of the kings were found mentioned even in the donations made by these other dominant social groups. This is interesting because this suggests to us that these groups had accepted the supreme authority of the king. But on the basis of these epigraphical evidences, we however, postulate that one cannot attribute the changes in the mode of genealogical writing to the changes envisaged in patronage patterns, since it is clearly evidenced that in all the three TYPES, the king, members of his family or other members of the society made grants either to the *brahmana*, temple or other social groups, without effecting a change in the genealogical pattern that was prevalent at the time of making grants.

On the other hand, in the context of TYPE IV genealogies, we had greater evidence to other dominant social groups of the society such as *mahamandalesvaras*, *mahasamantas*, *dandanayakas*, *gavunda*, *talabdggi*, *perjunikada*, *sumkhaverggade*, *perggade*, *senabova*, *reddi*, *settis*, etc., participating in the donative acts. Most of the grants made by these groups were to the temples and temple functionaries and are recorded on the temple walls. Interestingly, in these records we do not have genealogies of ruling elites, but instead in some examples, we discerned some of the members belonging to dominant social groups recording their genealogies that are of TYPE I and TYPE II categories of main kings. This clearly suggests that though by now there is a complete change in the donor-donee image from earlier TYPES still, one could see genealogies being written but now it is for different social groups with considerable socio-economic power.

Significantly, all the transactions between the donor and the donee that emerged as a consequence of patronage patterns forged new social relations between them that took place within a specific temporal context. This provided authentication to the genealogical records of ruling groups. In other words, it would also mean recognizing and accepting the claims of these groups for political suzerainty. Thus, patronage strategies adopted by ruling elites are indicative of integrative mechanisms through which an effective control of various social groups at different levels of social relationships was

accomplished, by making them accept their power. But this was not sufficient, as the State also required resources for its maintenance and the functioning of its bureaucratic machinery. This therefore, meant that simultaneously there was also an urgent need to control economic resources. How this was achieved is dealt by us next in the following paragraphs.

III

Evidence to the means through which economic control was exercised is available to us from the inscriptional sources through the mention of the donations of gifts or grants made to various social groups as donees. A study of the nature of the grant that was donated is crucial in the present context particularly, since it enables a better comprehension of the territorial control in terms of small units that varied in size depending on who the donor was and to whom the grant was being made. Further, while describing the nature of grants it is also important for us to cognize the nature settlement patterns at various levels. These are indicated to us through the place names of villages that occur as objects of grants in most cases or, sometimes as indicated the location of the grant, if the grant was in the form of commodities, given especially to temples. This information would be useful in order to analyze the extent of spatial control, which ultimately was based on the nature of donor and his status. Significantly, as is essentially reiterated the records mentioning this kind of data on settlement patterns is prefixed with genealogies of the king as donor and this further enables us to understand how genealogy itself got defined in different spatial contexts.

To begin with, in the context of TYPE I genealogies, we have noted above that most of the donations were made in the form of land grants. This consisted of (i) Villages, (ii) fields, (in) small plots of land measured in different sizes and (iv) other grants such as taxes, revenues, etc. In this regard, we have noted that most of the land donations prefixed to the TYPE I genealogical data are in the form of villages. The largest land donation consisted of a group of 10 villages donated by the king to a temple located in the capital city of the kingdom (**Chart IIIA, 3**). This suggests that the earliest expansion and control

of revenues took place in the areas surrounding the nucleus of the State. However, there is considerable evidence of a large number of individual villages being donated. In this regard, we have about 34 examples out of 60 (Chart IIIA, 2, 4-7, 9, 13, 15, 17-27, 29, 31, 32, 35, 38, 39, 44, 68, 77, 78, 82, 83, 85, 86, 95). Inscriptions particularly, from the Eastern Deccan describe the founding of new *brahmana* villages by converting some portions of land or villages into *agraharas* (Chart IIIA, 18, 22-24, 26, 29, 31). *Agraharas* have been described as tax-free grants. This means that the State would forfeit its revenues from these villages. However, the advantage of creating *agraharas* is that these villages in fact contributed to the agrarian expansion in virgin areas located in the hinterlands and thus extended the spatial control of the State into these hitherto uninhabited areas.

Land also came to be bequeathed in the form of villages divided into several shares before it was donated. In this regard, we have 4 instances (Chart IIIA, 33, 36, 41, 75). The other form in which land was donated in TYPE I is noted to be in the form of fields (Chart IIIA, 22, 62, 75). In some cases, land was donated and carefully defined in terms of measurements mentioned as *nivartanas*⁷⁴ (Chart IIIA, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16-19, 23, 28, 37, 42, 43), *khandikas/ khanduga*⁷⁵, (Chart IIIA, 40, 42, 43, 45, 63, 70, 71, 79-81, 84), *putti*⁷⁶ (Chart IIIA, 30), *marunta*⁷⁷, and *vata*⁷⁸ (Chart IIIA, 70). These instances lead us to envisage a steady extension of administrative control in the areas that were now brought under cultivation. Apart from this, certain land was also demarcated as a residential land, garden land and so on. But references to these occur only in few examples. Thus, for instance, we have a couple of examples that refer to a donation of a house site (Chart IIIA 67, 81) and a flower garden (Chart IIIA, 67, 70), respectively. And in one instance, a land known as *vakulakachchha ksetra* or cultivable land (Chart IIIA, 21) was donated as gift. Though references to these are few, it suggests a separation of agricultural land from other categories of land. We also come across isolated references to other forms of grants such as treasures, taxes and deposits (Chart IIIA, 5), income or revenues of the village (Chart IIIA, 2, 95), tenures (Chart IIIA, 28). This data permits us to imply that taxation system was in place. Besides, few examples also yield evidence of agricultural

products like *vadlu* or paddy (**Chart IIIA, 42, 43**) and jack fruit trees (**Chart IIIA, 5**). From a description of these various forms of land endowments in TYPE I, we can conclude that most of the land grants in this TYPE were primarily large in size. This further explains the State's attempt to bring virgin land under cultivation and expand its agrarian production by granting it to those beneficiaries who would be loyal to it.

In terms of location of the grant in TYPE I, it is found that they were located in different geographical spaces identified as the rural, urban and temple based. Rural space in this context has been described through place names ending with suffixes such as *grama*, *uru*, *palli*, *vada*, *vataka* *etc.*, representing different types of rural settlements. On the other hand, place names suffixed with terms like *pattana*, *pura* and *nagara* have been used as criteria to connote an urban settlement. Temple based space is contrasted with the earlier two. In this case, the grants were made to the temple as an institution. However, the location of the temple itself in a rural or a urban space can only be discerned if one is able to define the larger economy of its hinterland that it attempted to control in specific spatial contexts. In this regard, B. D. Chattopadhyaya cautions us that these settlements such as *palli*, *grama*, *pattana* or *pura* and *nagara* representing different types of settlements were not necessarily immutable categories. He further explains that sometimes, internal changes as well as encroachments into tribal habitats were part of a continuous historical process that would change a *palli* into a *grama*⁷⁹ but the name of the settlement may not necessarily change and therefore, these should not be taken in their literal sense.

In the context of the TYPE I, it is found that most of the land grants were given in settlements that can be broadly identified as *grama*. *Grاما* is generally taken in the sense of peasant village,⁸⁰ and therefore, can be referred to a consolidated agricultural community. In this regard, we have 24 out of 60 examples that refer to *grama* as a village (**Chart IIIA, 2, 5-7, 9, 17, 19, 20, 25, 27, 29, 31, 32, 35, 38, 44, 68, 77, 78, 82, 83, 86, 95**). However, in some cases *grama* is also interpreted as a piece of land with certain measurements⁸¹ In this regard, our data provides enough evidence to support

this interpretation. Thus, we have villages that are divided into several shares and constituted as separate settlements (Chart IIIA, 33, 36, 75). Sometimes, fields and other smaller units of land were given in a *grama* indicating its agrarian character (Chart IIIA, 10, 17, 19, 28, 30, 37, 40, 42, 43, 45, 68, 71, 79, 81, 84). Besides *grama*, we also have references to other rural settlements such as *uru*, *vada*, *vatika* and *pal/i*. In this context, we have 5 examples where the place names have been suffixed with 'uru' such as Kumulura, Tummeyanuru and so on are mentioned (Chart IIIA, 8, 16, 26, 41, 80). The term 'Uru' is used in the sense of creating a new settlement in the form of full-fledged villages in agriculturally viable areas.⁸² Other forms of rural settlements that occur in the data pertaining to TYPE I are, terms like *vada*" (Chart IIIA, 22-24, 39) or *vataka* (Chart IIIA, 4, 13), *kunta*⁶⁴ (Chart IIIA, 35, 36), *konda*⁸⁵ (Chart IIIA, 68) and *ksetra* or cultivated land (Chart IIIA, 21, 22). All these different typologies of settlements indicate tribal or small village hamlets and therefore, connote the existence of a largely rural society. It is interesting to note that one of the grants of Jayasimha Vallabha I mentions an *adivasa* village (Chart IIIA, 22). The term *adivasa* is understood as a tribal settlement. This then clearly indicates the acculturation of tribal settlements by converting them into villages. This mention of tribal and pastoral villages suggests that a substantial pastoral economy co-existed with an agrarian economy during Phase 1 of this study, when we find the TYPE I examples. Further, from the immense number of examples with these suffixes one may postulate that there was probably mushrooming of rural settlements. Interestingly, in this TYPE we also have examples that indicate to settlements in an urban space. In this regard, we have references to *purify* (Chart IIIA, 12, 18, 82), *nagara*⁸⁷ (Chart IIIA, 9, 14, 15) and *pattana*⁸⁸ (Chart IIIA, 85). These indicate the existence of settlements larger than a village settlement. This also probably suggests that the ruling elites in this TYPE consciously granted villages in new cultivable lands thereby enabling them to control the economic surplus of these lands.

For grants suffixed to data of TYPE II genealogies, one has also pertinently observed that the grants were predominantly made in rural areas, suggesting a continuous process of the integration of rural settlements, which

perhaps had not yet completed. Since agriculture formed the nucleus for the subsistence of the State, one can clearly discern that in TYPE II, that were characterized by extended genealogies, proliferation of rural settlements continued on a vigorous scale. This is manifested in the data, wherein the village or *grama* still remained the largest unit of land that was usually donated. This is exemplified through 36 examples (**Chart IIIA, 34, 46-48, 50, 51, 53-55, 57-60, 65, 73, 74, 76, 87, 89-92, 95-99, 101, 104, 107-109, 111, 112, 114-116**). There is also a possibility that some of the donations of villages were made in the areas having sparse settlements with the intention to enhance the scope for the extension of agriculture. However, not all rural settlements donated in Phase 1 were of a similar kind. As noted for TYPE I, for TYPE II too, we notice grants that were given in other smaller rural settlements like *Oru* (**Chart IIIA, 52, 56, 69, 88, 93, 94, 105, 112, 113**), *vataka* (**Chart IIIA, 102**), *PQIJI* (**Chart IIIA, 103**) and *konda* (**Chart IIIA, 111**). Interestingly, in TYPE II we have noticed that the grants that were given to temples, affiliated to both the Jama and the Saivite faiths, are found to be located in urban environments denoted by suffixes like '*pura*' and '*nagara*'. In this regard, we have 5 such examples that mention the location of Jaina temples in an urban space such as Vatapipura (**Chart IIIA, 11**), Purikaranagara and so on (**Chart IIIA, 59 64, 65, 72**). In one instance, we have an example of a Saivite temple that is mentioned as located at Alampura (**Chart IIIA, 61**). This indicates that the initial growth of temples may have concentrated in urban areas, before it could get social and economic support to percolate into the rural areas. Concentration of temples in urban areas resulted in an enhanced mercantile activity and this meant more revenues for the State that was collected through taxes.

TYPE II examples do not really show much change with regard to the nature of grants, except for slight variations when compared to TYPE I. In this regard, one has noticed that the donations in TYPE II comprised of (i) groups of villages, (ii) individual villages, (iii) fields, (iv) land in small measurements like *nivartana*, *puttis*, etc., and (v) taxes, gold etc.. This classification of grants is clear evidence to conclude that land still continued to be predominantly given as donation. However, one important difference noted is that, unlike in TYPE I

where we have only one example that referred to a group of 10 villages that was granted, in TYPE II, we have come across at least 5 such examples where groups of villages varying between 2 to 300 have been mentioned as being given as a gift (**Chart IIIA, 76, 111, 112, 115, 117**). This practice of granting groups of villages either, to the same donee or, to members of the same family must have been motivated from the desire for universalizing the legitimate authority and control of the king over large areas of land now conquered by him. The Kandyam⁸⁹ grant of Danarnava mentions that the king made a grant of 300 villages located in Pottapinadu *Vishaya*, to two princes of the minor Chajukyan family of Mudigonda.⁹⁰ This appears to be conscious mechanism through which new avenues for resource mobilization were being devised, as these villages have clearly not specified as tax-free. Further, it could also be that the general political conditions of uncertainty during the period might have compelled the rulers to support their scions at Mudigonda⁹¹ and thereby create new local level polities with less dependence on the center.

Besides groups of villages, one also observed that the donation of individual villages as grants, continued on large-scale even in TYPE II. Thus, we noticed about 36 examples out of 57 that referred to individual villages as gifts (**Chart IIIA, 34, 46-48, 51, 53-60, 65, 69, 73, 74, 87-90, 92-96, 98, 99, 101, 104-106, 108, 109, 114, 116**). Out of these, 6 villages are mentioned as having been converted into *agratxiras* (**Chart IIIA, 34, 88, 89, 96, 104, 109**). Such grants may have been prompted by the strategy of the donors to extend and strengthen brahmanical influence in and around the donated areas.⁹² This process clearly led to the integration of these villages into the mainstream of peasant economic activity. Consequently, this would also ensure an extension and consolidation of royal authority via the influence that the *brahmanas* as religious beneficiaries got through the conversion of the villages into *agratxiras*.

As noted in TYPE I, in TYPE II too, land was donated in the form fields specifying the capacity of the yield (**Chart IIIA, 60, 91, 97, 107, 110**) and other smaller measurements like *mvartanas* (**Chart IIIA, 50, 52, 53, 60, 72, 102**), *matters* (**Chart IIIA, 105**), *khandikas* (**Chart IIIA, 91, 113**).

Sometimes, land was differentiated as wet land (Chart IIIA, 103). From all these examples of land grants given in varied forms, one can infer that the Chalukyan economy in the Deccan manifested all the traits of an emerging agrarian economy with paddy constituting the chief crop of the region. This further reveals that considerable extent of fertile tracts or nuclear zones were acculturated through land donations. Besides these, we also have examples where donations were made in other forms such as a house site (Chart IIIA, 91), a *sattrā* (feeding house) (Chart IIIA, 102), taxes of a village (Chart IIIA, 49) and a share of gold (Chart IIIA, 115). However, such examples are few and therefore, do not really suggest that there was an overall transformation of the economy of the Chalukyan State, which remained largely an agrarian one supported substantially with inputs from pastoralism and natural commodities of the forest.

From this analysis of the nature of grants prefixed to both TYPE I and TYPE II genealogical patterns in Phase 1, it is assessed by us that most of the donations that were made during this phase are in the form of villages defining the rural space. This will further explain the State's attempts to bring more virgin land under cultivation. In the context of Phase 1 most of the land endowments made by ruling elites *are* in the virgin lands though grants were also made in already settled villages. This was presumed based on the information furnished in the inscriptions on the witnesses and executors who were present during land transactions. They acted as a channel between the main rulers and the village establishing economic and administrative linkages by ensuring tax collection that was indeed an important lever of state control. Secondly, the inscriptions also mention inhabitants and cultivators of the villages like the *nivJsinas* and the *kuturnbinas*. Reference to these groups suggests the donation of grants in already well settled villages and in this case the donating authority had complete control over their localities. These include administrators such as the *visayapaUs*, *rastrakuta pramukhas* and so on.

Thus, in the data appended to the TYPE I genealogical pattern, we have 23 out of 60 examples that refer to village level administrators like *visayapatis*^J (Chart IIIA, 7, 9, 15), *samantas* (military chiefs) (Chart IIIA, 7, 15), *mahattara**, *grama bhogika*[^] (Chart IIIA, 7) or *bhdgika*,

gramayukta, *raja samanta* (Chart IIIA, 9), *grameyaka*, *naiyogika*⁹⁶ (Chart IIIA, 41), *adhikarinas* (Chart IIIA, 23, 24, 29) and finally *rastrakuta pramukhas*⁹⁷ (Chart IIIA, 9, 70, 77, 79-81, 83-86, 95) who are mentioned as the witnesses of the grant. All in all, though functionaries, they were an integral part of the social structure of their sub-regions and localities. Alongside then the presence of the inhabitants (*vasinas*) and the cultivators of the village were also noted in inscriptions while the land transactions were executed. In this regard, we have reference to *visayavasina* (Chart IIIA, 13, 18), *sarvva janena* (Chart IIIA, 15), *adhivasinah* (Chart IIIA, 22, 28, 32, 39, 75), *nivasinas* (Chart IIIA, 77, 79, 80, 83-86, 95) and *kuturpbins* (cultivators) who have been found mentioned in several inscriptions. All the inhabitants of the village were required to pay taxes. Overall, it has been noted that there are few officials present during land transactions in PiPE I during Phase 1. Since in a large majority of cases, numbering about 36 out of 60 examples, there is no reference to these social groups, one can infer that most of the villages that were given under TYPE I were in largely uninhabited areas. Hence, administrative control seems less as no existing socio-political structure was already in place in these villages.

From the examples in TYPE II, it becomes clear that there was a relative increase in the examples that referred to these official groups. Thus, we noted about 25 examples that mention *rastrakuta pramukhas* (Chart IIIA, 87-93, 96-99, 101, 104-113, 115-117). Besides this reference to other officials like *mantn*, *purdhita*, *senapati*, *yuvaraja* and *adhyaksha* are mentioned in 2 instances (Chart IIIA, 116, 117). The Koneki grant of Visnuvardhana II of the Eastern Chajukyan family informs us of a great variety of official designations that occur in the list of witnesses. Thus, we have references to *grameyaka*, *raja purusa*, *talavara*, *dandanayaka*, *rasthka*, *duta*, *bhatmala*, *chetaka*, *paricharaka*, *niyukta*, *nayaka* and *adhyaksha* (Chart IIIA, 34). This indicates that there was a gradual attempt to evolving a full-fledged administrative system that could be effectively used to control areas outside the territorial limits of the kingdom. Dependence on existing landed elites and the integration into a well-structured administrative system was the only way

to exercise control in these extended regions. That most of the grants in TYPE II were made in the already settled villages can be inferred from the fact that several examples referred to the *kuturpbinas* (**Chart IIIA, 87-94, 96-99, 101, 104-113, 115-117**), *nivasinas* (**Chart IIIA, 57, 87, 88, 90-94, 96-99, 101, 104-113, 115-117**) and *adhivasatis* of the village (**Chart IIIB, 55, 56, 69, 74, 76**). However, grants also continued to be made in some as yet unsettled areas suggesting acculturation of virgin land through the process of granting lands as that could simultaneously unleash the process of economic integration. This, we infer on the basis of the fact that these grants do not refer to the presence of any witnesses totaling to a substantial number of about 22 examples (**Chart IIIA, 11, 46-54, 58-61, 64-66, 72, 73, 100, 103, 114**). Thus by the end of Phase 1, our data evidenced the acculturation of fertile tracts and some new virgin lands in the hinterlands and this clearly helped in controlling the areas acquired by the extension of the kingdom through conquests.

A close scrutiny of the economic developments in Phase 1 suggests that this period is characterized by predominant agrarian activity. This is mainly because, in most cases the donor of these grants is the king and his family members. Further, in most cases the donees are the *brahmanas* who were donated with big villages often converted them into *agraharas*. The creation of *agraharas* did not necessarily lead to appropriation of revenues by the State as most of these were tax free and the revenues would go to the local landed intermediaries, however, it devolved upon the *brahmanas* to undertake the difficult task of creating validity for the 'royal' rights in their settlements and also other neighboring villages.⁹⁸ In fact, it was noted by us in Chapter III that in TYPE II genealogies in particular, *brahmanas* constructed elaborate genealogies for the ruling elites providing an ideological legitimization to their rule. Further, contestation by existing agricultural groups was numbed by the role of the *brahmanas* as leaders of the new ideology of the State. Simultaneously, *agraharas* also helped in developing a village-level administration necessary for the implementation of royal demands." They also played a crucial role in the spread and development of agriculture and bring virgin land under cultivation.¹⁰⁰ Consequently, the number of rural

settlements increased immeasurably during this Phase of our study. These developments together gave rise to powerful local intermediaries who wielded considerable authority at the rural level polity and by the merit of their enhanced economic status, emerged as the donors during Phase 2 of this study (i.e., from the 11th -12th centuries AD). In fact, it had been pertinently noted by us, earlier that in Phase 2, the temple emerged as the major recipient of grants and though patronage to religious social groups like the *brahmanas* continued it was comparatively lesser. Patronage of temples in Phase 2, further transformed the nature of economy that now evinced rural and urban characteristics and this is reflected in a change in the nature of grants that were made as well as, the control mechanisms that emanated from these new patronage patterns.

Pertinently, by the end of Phase 1 we have noted a considerable agrarian expansion in the newly created settlements at rural level. It also stabilized the power of the ruling families in these settlements. The concern now of the ruling elites in the grants appended to TYPE III genealogical data was to appropriate more revenues for the State. This was essential for the State to meet the growing military expenditure, as Phase 2 witnessed constant wars between the Eastern Chalukyan rulers and other contending neighboring rulers. Therefore, the very purpose of making land donations in TYPE III, particularly those concerned with the Chalukyan families of the eastern Deccan appears to be distinct from that discussed above in TYPES I and II under Phase 1. Now, instead of the ruling elites only making land grants to seek ideological support and simultaneously augment the rural agrarian economy, a new class of local level intermediaries emerged who controlled the local level agrarian economy. This also had its impact on the nature of grant, which is best manifested in examples from the western Deccan.

Thus we find that in the context of TYPE III, grants were given in the form of (i) groups of villages varying between 2 to 13, (ii) individual villages sometimes converted as *agraharas*, (iii) differentiated types of land such as the wet land, rice land, etc. and (v) finally commodities such as betel-leaves, areca-nuts, etc. This classification of the nature of grants clearly indicates a transition that was taking place from earlier phase but had not yet fructified as it did in the subsequent centuries.

Instances of land grants given in the form of groups of villages varying between 2 to 13 are found in 5 examples (Chart IIIB, 7, 19, 20, 62, 94). Interestingly, some of these villages were given to the immigrant *brahmanas*. Thus, for instance, the Pithapuram Plates of Vira Choda of the Eastern Chalukyan dynasty refers to the donation of 3 villages along with several hamlets, apparently converted into *agraharas* and named as *Virachoda Chaturvedi maringa/am*, were given to 536 *brahmanas*. It has been further noted that most of these *brahmanas* were imported from Tamilnadu.¹⁰¹ The idea of giving land donations to immigrant *brahmanas* may have been compelled by the need to extend the social base of the State in terms of elements that would be loyal to it rather than become part of the local rural political elites. The immigrants were meant to create a brahmanical milieu in and around their settlements in order to survive and thrive and subsequently also draw in social acceptability for themselves from among the local population.

Nevertheless, the donation of individual villages as the largest form of land grants continues to be given in most cases in TYPE III. In this regard, we have noted about 14 out of 28 examples that refer to donations of villages to *brahmanas* (Chart IIIB, 4, 7, 11, 14, 20, 36, 44, 53, 54, 61, 69, 86, 91, 95). Of these examples, 7 instances refer to the village converted as an *agraharas* (Chart IIIB, 7, 11, 14, 44, 61, 69, 95). Further, most of these examples are noted from the Eastern Deccan. These instances indicate that the State was still looking for establishing a new resource and social base as this was required to meet its growing military expenditure on the one hand, and control the questioning of their authority on the other. The *brahmanas* ensured their royal claims to legitimacy over and above other contending elites in these localities.

Besides, it has also been noted in few instances that temples were recipients of villages. In this regard, we have come across 5 examples (Chart IIIB, 19, 57, 60, 97, 98). Temple lands known as *devadana* lands played a crucial role in the extension of agrarian activities around the temple centres.

Apart from the donations of villages, we have also noted references to land differentiated for specific purposes. References of this kind are innumerable in TYPE III when compared to TYPES I and II. This suggests that by now the knowledge of demarcating land for administrative and economic purposes had considerably grown. This differentiation of land was facilitated by grants to temples that required greater varieties of commodities for its ritual purposes. In this regard, we noted the mention of rice lands, corn lands, betel nut gardens, garden lands (*tomtabhumi*) (**Chart IIIB, 10**), black lands (*kahyanela*) (**Chart IIIB, 59**), flower gardens, wet lands (*regady/ gadde*), dry lands (*valgadlu*) (**Chart IIIB, 84**) and certain other kinds of land (**Chart IIIB, 69, 83, 84**) that were commonly known as different categories of productive land. Further, these lands were not found in the form of full-fledged villages but were given in small units of measurements such as *mattar* or *kammas*¹⁰² (**Chart IIIB, 10**), *putti* etc. (**Chart IIIB, 38**). In other cases of donation, one noticed donations being given in the form of streets (**Chart IIIB, 10**), the ownership rights of two villages that were bequeathed to the donee (**Chart IIIB, 84**), lecture hall (**Chart IIIB, 73**) and cows (**Chart IIIB, 96**) and other forms of commodities or cash such as *gadyanas* of gold (**Chart IIIB, 69**). All these examples suggest that, the exclusive donation of big villages as noted in Phase 1 was gradually giving way to other forms of grants that were, no doubt smaller in size but clearly indicate a multiplicity of rights in land and property. Recognition of these in terms of the social capacity of different kinds of donors as discussed above and the donees who received the grants was a trend first noted largely in the inscriptions of the Western Deccan.

From the study of the nature of settlements of all the donations discussed above, one has clearly noticed that the grants continued to be predominantly given in TYPE III too, in the rural areas. This is evident from the mention of *gnlma* or the village as an object of grant in about 10 examples (**Chart IIIB, 4, 7, 20, 36, 38, 53, 54, 57, 60, 91**). Apart from this, we also have instances where grants continued to be made in the other but more confined rural spaces such as '*uru*' (**Chart IIIB, 14, 69**), '*vada*' (**Chart IIIB, 44**), '*Vell*' (**Chart IIIB, 61**), or '*palli*' (**Chart IIIB, 86, 97**) and '*gunda*' (**Chart IIIB, 86**). On the other hand, we have noted, for the first time, a

couple of examples in which place names suffixed with 'vata' and 'gund' were distinctly mentioned as *pattanas* as exemplified in names like Viiavavata (Chart IIIB, 66) and Lokkigundi (Chart IIIB, 73). This manifest the changing character of the rural space that was gradually getting transformed into an urban space, but still retained its suffix connoting a rural identity a point perceptibly made by B. D. Chattopadhyaya at a theoretical level which can be substantiated with these examples. Significantly, one can notice that location of temples in this TYPE now seem to have permeated into the rural areas also, as against their concentration in urban areas only in Phase 1. In this regard, we have noticed 9 examples out of 28 that mention the temple sites as locations of the specific grants. The locations of these temples are found in both the rural as well as urban spaces. For instance, we have three examples that indicated the location of a Saivite temple in an urban space because of the suffix 'pura' in names like Balipura, Achalapura (Chart IIIB, 10, 83) and 'pattana' defining the place Pandarika (Chart IIIB, 84). Other examples that had place names with suffixes like 'uru', such as Ehur etc., (Chart IIIB, 19, 57, 59) indicate the location of the Siva temple in rural space. Similarly, instances indicating the location of a Visnu temple in a rural space suffixed with 'uru' (Chart IIIB, 60) and 'vada', (Chart IIIB, 98) are noted in two different examples. In a lone example, a Jaina temple is mentioned as located in the capital of Tenda!¹² (Chart IIIB, 88). Thus, land grants to temples and *brahmanas* in certain key *agrahJras* in TYPE III, we suggest should be seen as important socio-economic mechanisms that were substantially articulated with the growth of temple centers. The temple not only became an owner of land, but was also the foci of commodity production and most importantly, began to take on certain functions of the State like revenue collection, organizing assemblies and, not in the least, providing legitimacy for the particular ruling elites that patronized it.

An interesting tendency that emerged in grants appended to TYPE IV genealogies is the tremendous increase in temple settlements that were located in both the rural and urban spaces. Elsewhere in this Chapter, we have noted that the major recipients of grants in TYPE IV were temples belonging to

various sectarian creeds like Saivism, Vaisnavism and Jainism. In fact, in TYPE IV donations to Saivite temples dominated and most of these are found to be located in the rural areas. In this regard, we have noted about 12 examples that refer to the location of Siva temples in places exemplified by suffixes such as '*grama*' (**Chart IIIB, 9, 34, 40, 47, 49, 74**), '*uru*', (**Chart IIIB, 1, 16, 17, 29, 43, 46, 67**), '*vadi*' (**Chart IIIB, 32, 42, 49**), and *Vali* or '*pal/i*' (**Chart IIIB, 45, 48**). In an interesting instance, a record refers to a place name ending with the suffix '*Vana*', namely, Kallavana (**Chart IIIB, 80**). *Vana* literally means 'forest' and this suggests the proliferation of temples into areas bordering the agrarian settlements that originally must have been tribal areas now appended to existing agricultural and pastoral settlements with a certain degree of subsistence production.¹⁰³ In another instance, '*tirtha*', as in Pariyala tirtha (**Chart IIIB, 51**) is mentioned. '*Tirtha*' literally means 'a holy place for pilgrimage'. The proclamation of a small place into a *tirtha* was an attempt to garner social support for the locality to gain pan-regional or pan-Indian importance. Once, this was done it further enhanced the socio-economic base of such sacred places during the early medieval period.¹⁰⁴ There are examples where the place names ending with '*gere*' or '*kere*' are mentioned in sources pertaining to TYPE IV (**Chart IIIB, 56, 58, 70, 72, 79, 85, 90, 94**). '*Gere*' or '*kere*' have been interpreted to mean 'a street'. These formed part of towns and were usually developed in the suburbs of the town.¹⁰⁵ Temples located at such places clearly manifested an urban character. In few examples, the location of Saivite temple is mentioned in the capital of the local *area*. In this regard, we have names like Ron, Sundi etc. that are mentioned as capital cities (**Chart IIIB, 13, 33, 58, 94**). There is also mention of *pattanas* where Siva temples were located (**Chart IIIB, 75, 76, 78, 82**). *Agraharas* naturally became the loci for temples as exemplified in some cases (**Chart IIIB, 30, 34**). Some of the temples began to have *mathas* and all these examples are found located in the rural space (**Chart IIIB, 6, 17, 89**).

Besides Saivism, the other dominant religion as found in the examples of TYPE IV primarily from the Western Deccan was Jainism. Several temples belonging to the Jama faith had cropped up between the 11th and the 12th

centuries AD. It has been noted that in several instances the local people sponsored the construction of these temples. Consequently, the locations of the Jaina temples are also found in both the urban and rural space. In this regard, we have come across reference to Jaina temples in the context of a '*pattana*' (Chart IIIA, 118), a '*pura*' (Chart IIIB, 2, 31) and a '*nagara*' or town (Chart IIIB, 62). These places have been mentioned as the capitals of the local areas. On the other hand, Jaina settlements in rural areas appeared to be comparatively less with only 4 examples referring to '*Or*' (Chart IIIB, 8, 19)/ '*palW*' (Chart IIIB, 21) and '*gonda*' (Chart IIIB, 50) reflecting this.

Further, examples from our study showed that the location of Visnu temples in the urban space and these have been referred to as the Capital cities. In this regard, we found 3 examples that refer to a '*pattana*' (Chart IIIB, 22) and '*nagara*' (Chart IIIB, 24, 63). In another instance, a grant was made to a Buddhist *vihara* that was stated to be located in the town of Dhamapura (Chart IIIB, 73).

Apart from mentioning the location of religious grants in their spatial context, we also have the mention of non-religious grants that were located in the urban and rural spaces. In this regard, we noticed one example of a place name with the suffix '*nagara*' namely, Punkaranagara (Chart IIIB, 64). In all other grants numbering about 10, references were made to the location of grants in a rural space illustrated by the use of suffixes such as '*uru*' (Chart IIIA, 120) '*grama*' (Chart IIIB, 9), '*gundr*' (Chart IIIB, 64), (Chart IIIB, 3, 12, 25, 26, 67), '*va/if*' (Chart IIIB, 23) and '*vadf*' (Chart IIIB, 39). All these instances on the nature of settlement patterns suggest that under conditions when TYPE IV genealogies were being written new integrative forces, particularly in the form of the temple had emerged. Through the network of this new institutional force, the integration of rural and tribal economy with the larger urban economies was made possible. This led to the extension of agricultural activities and a more intensive organization of production geared to support large populations in the *agraharas* and temple-centers.¹⁰⁶ All these developments had a cumulative effect on the nature of agrarian production. Thus we find that the nature of grant in TYPE IV was clearly distinct from those

noticed in the earlier TYPES clearly reflecting the changed socio-political and socio-economic realities of Deccan during Phase 2 of our study.

Following this changed pattern, one has discerned that in TYPE IV, there was a sharp decline in the donation of villages as grants and gifts when compared to other TYPES particularly, in Phase 1. This is evident from the fact that there are only 6 examples in this TYPE that refer to village as a gift (**Chart IIIB, 9, 32, 34, 45, 51, 64**). Instead, now a greater variety of grants, ranging from big towns to commodities and cash, have emerged as important items of donation. Thus, in this TYPE we have noted that apart from few villages as noted above, the other types of grants donated included (i) towns, (ii) land apportioned into smaller sizes of different measurements, (iii) land differentiated for specific purpose, (iv) cash and revenues and (v) commodities and articles that are used for ritual purpose in the temples. Further, it had been noted that, unlike in earlier TYPES, these latter type of grants were not found in just a few scattered examples, but rather small gift giving had become the norm. This substantially explains in explicit terms the changes perceived in the nature of the economy earlier exclusively based on agrarian production but gradually, also beginning to partake in trade and commodity production.

Interestingly, therefore, we find the first example of the donation of a town as a gift in the context of the present study that is found in three examples (**Chart IIIB, 55, 65, 80**). These towns, it is stated were given to the temple, probably in terms of the revenues as tolls and taxes collected in them. This indicates the transfer of control of the urban economy to the temple, and this further signifies the dominant role of temple in such towns. The other types of donations mentioned the village that is either, apportioned into several parts as noted in a couple of examples (**Chart IIIB, 9, 43**) or, is given in smaller segments mentioned as field (**Chart IIIA, 120**) or simply as land (**Chart IIIB, 2, 15, 21, 28**). These limited examples can be contrasted with several such instances noted in the earlier TYPES and clearly shows that donations in the big landholdings had ceased to be given as gifts under conditions reflected under TYPE IV. Instead, one has discerned that land was now categorized into different types and gifted away in different measurements such as *mattar*, *nivartana*, *putti*, *kammas*, etc. In this regard, we have references to such lands or fields as paddy field (**Chart IIIB, 17, 78, 89, 90**),

pannasa field (**Chart IIIB, 24**). These few references clearly indicate that there were attempts to bring wasteland under cultivation. Reclamation of village wasteland was done by transferring them into small plots in the form of garden lands (*tota-ksetram*) (**Chart IIIB, 31, 35, 42 71, 78, 81**), flower gardens (**Chart IIIA, 120**) (**Chart IIIB, 8, 12, 13**), and areca-nut gardens (**Chart IIIB, 18**). A greater number of references to garden lands however, indicates that there was a rapid expansion of the cultivation of these lands on account of the evolving ritual requirements of the growing temple establishments.

Further, the enumeration of different types of land such as the black soil land (**Chart IIIB, 5, 17, 29, 30, 40, 85, 90**), red soil land (**Chart IIIB, 8, 29, 30, 89**), gravel soil land (**Chart IIIB, 63, 89**), waste land (**Chart IIIB, 72**), red and black land (**Chart IIIB, 17**), wet land and ordinary land (**Chart IIIB, 42**) is quite instructive. This process of detailed, meticulous division and enumeration of land types that were suitable for the cultivation of specific varieties of crops attests to the concern of the State to increase agrarian production through proper study of land types. This was crucial to avert failure of crop production and thus inhibit productivity.

The concern of the different levels of State for enhancing productivity of crops is evident from the data on construction of tanks¹⁰⁷ that were meant for irrigating gardens and fields. Hence, the local chiefs donated some land or cash for the construction of tanks in their localities, primarily to improve farming methods. Thus, we noted in one instance, the *mahasamanta* is mentioned to have directed the *dandaya* tax and 50 *gadyanas* of gold collected on a tax called *pratisiddhaya* for the construction and maintenance of the tank (**Chart IIIB, 26**). In another instance, the *mahamatya* of the village donated 1 *mattar* of land for the construction of the tank and a one house for the person who looked after the maintenance of the tank (**Chart IIIB, 39**). These examples amply illustrate that the control of irrigation was vested in the hands of the local elite. They, apart from the temple,¹⁰⁸ played a significant role in augmenting advanced farming methods and technology of irrigation for a regular system of cultivation to progress.

The enormity of temple's demands had transformed articles of marginal utility into essential commodities produced in marketable quantities. Consequently, we found donations made in the forms of commodities like oil mills (Chart IIIB, 13, 42), oil (Chart IIIB, 49), *ratana* (Chart IIIB, 40), betel leaves (Chart IIIB, 78), lime (Chart IIIB, 82) and so on. Shopping complexes selling various commodities essential for the performance temple rituals sprouted in the environs of the temple complexes. Sometimes help was rendered to set up such shops. In this context, we noted an example that referred to an aid rendered to the donee to set up a *Tiruvahgadi* (sacred shop) (Chart IIIB, 70) in the temple environs. Apart from this, we also have instances where gifts were made in the form a land for the purpose of constructing a house (Chart IIIB, 18, 28, 39, 40, 64, 74) or a rest house as noted in one instance (Chart IIIB, 13) or sometimes already constructed houses were given as gifts (Chart IIIB, 42, 72, 89).

With the emergence of large-scale commodity production centered around the temple, there was a resurgence in the market economy of towns and coincided with the production and circulation of metallic currency.¹⁰⁹ It has been noted by scholars in the earlier studies that this process that began from the beginning of the 11th century and had its ramifications in the preceding Phase. For instance, R. S. Sharma speaks in terms of the revival of urban phenomenon from its earlier decadent state in the western and central India during this period.¹¹⁰ Tarafdar on the other hand, has detailed for us the urban growth in the context of early medieval Bengal. He has, in this regard, described the monetized economic set up of the region, which was supported by an elaborate currency system, prosperous urban centres with well-developed commercial links.¹¹¹ R. Chapakalakshmi's works have focussed on the commercial activity of the Tamijakam region during the Choja rule, i.e., 11th-12th centuries AD. In this regard, she notes the creation of *brahmadeya* and *devadcina* villages during the early centuries of early medieval period expanded agrarian systems by adopting advanced farming methods and improved cultivation. This generated a great spurt in the commercial activity leading to urbanization during the 11th-12th centuries the Tamilakam region.¹¹² In the context of early medieval Karnataka, R. N. Nandi concludes that the decay of towns in the early phase of the early medieval period, was indeed the

principal motor force that initiated a whole series of developments such as the growth of private farming, improvements in the techniques of agriculture and increase in crop-production. All these had a cumulative effect on the ultimate growth of market economy and towns during the 11th century.¹¹³

In the context of the present study we have references to various forms of currency noted especially, in the context of TYPE IV, where cash in certain amounts is specified as the gift. In this regard, we have reference to cash in the form of *gadyanas* (**Chart IIIB, 13, 26, 48, 71**), *drammas* (**Chart IIIB, 21**), *aruvana* (**Chart IIIB, 49, 71**). Besides donations were also made in the form of *visa*¹¹ (**Chart IIIB, 3**), cash (**Chart IIIB, 95**), 1/4 gold piece (**Chart IIIB, 82**). Sometimes, grants were given in the form of rights on the land that were allowed to be enjoyed on a certain payment (**Chart IIIB, 5, 27, 93**). For instance, in the Sudi inscription of Vikramaditya V of the Western Chajukyan king of Kalyani, 114 *mattars* of black soil land was donated to the *mahajanas*, which they were supposed to enjoy only on a payment of *murgaruvana* (**Chart IIIB, 5**). These references indicate the rejuvenation of the agrarian economy based on market and money exchange.

Endowments made to temples were not only taxed at lesser rates but, were sometimes completely exempted from taxation. In this regard, we noted in 3 examples where the gift itself consisted of an exemption from the payment of certain taxes (**Chart IIIB, 25, 35, 50**). For instance, in the Niralgi inscription of Somesvara I, the donee was exempted from the payment of a house tax (**Chart IIIB, 50**). Donations to temples increased as they were given by various social groups. Often, these were presented from the proceeds of taxes. In this regard, we have examples that refer to a certain percentage of earnings or taxes levied on various commodities such as betel leaves, cotton pods and so on that are donated as gifts to the temple (**Chart IIIB, 23, 56, 58, 75, 77**). In another instance, 1 share in the proceeds of fines of the town of Puji was directed for the enjoyment of the donee (**Chart IIIB, 76**). In another instance, a house tax of a village and a *kodvana* were conferred as gifts (**Chart IIIB, 82**). In yet another instance, a yearly grant of 10 *gadyanas* out of the *siddhaya* tax proceeds (**Chart IIIA, 93**) was granted.

Our next focus in this Phase was on the role of social groups involved in economic transactions. The inscriptions during this Phase show that there was a considerable increase in the number of officials present during transactions to various beneficiaries. In this Phase, there is a tremendously increase in the number of officials mentioned as witnesses as against the previous TYPES I and II in Phase I. In this regard, we noticed that while in the context of TYPE III, we note sub-regional differences, in TYPE IV, a totally different picture emerges. Now the functionaries who, in reality, ruled at the local level and other dominant social and economic groups came to be mentioned in the inscriptions as witnesses.

Thus, in the context of TYPE III genealogies, we have noted that the inscriptions belonging to the Eastern Deccan invariably refer to *rastrakuta pramukhas*, *maritn*, *purdhita*, *senapati*, *yuvaraja*, *dauvarika*, *pradhana*, *adhyaksha* (**Chart IIIB, 7, 11, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 60, 66, 91, 97**) as witnesses. This is in contrast to TYPE II where we have only two examples that refer to all these officials taken together. This suggests that by now a well-entrenched hierarchy of control was in place that provided an intermediary stage of economic and social control at the village level of organization. It is interesting to note that the Pithapuram pillar inscription of Mallapadeva of Jananathapuram Chalukyas, dated to 1202 AD, refers to artisan and service groups like *Kumbhakaras* (potter), *suvamayayas* (goldsmith), *lohakaras* (blacksmith), *takshakas* (carpenter), *nJpitas* (barber), *rajakas* (washerman), *charmakaras* (leather worker), *vesyas* (prostitute), *vanapalakahs* (gardener) along with *mstrakuta pramukhas* and *kutu^bmas* (**Chart IIIB, 97**) as witnesses. All these groups were the residents of the village and their names indicate the services they provided to the rural society. Reference to these groups under TYPE III clearly marks a change from the earlier TYPES in Phase 1 and further, testifies to their growing visibility in the society as they now came to be considered as witnesses to the grants made. Further, it is also noted that in almost all the records of the Eastern Deccan, there is invariably a reference to the *kutumbinas* and *nivasmas*.

On the other hand, in the context of TYPE III genealogies of the Western Deccan, we have references to state appointed officials like *rastrapati*, *visayapati*, *gramakutaka*, *ayukta*, *niyukta*, *adhikarika*, *mahattara* (**Chart IIIB, 4, 59, 69, 86**) who figure as witnesses. Besides one can also see reference to such terms like *mahajanas*, *mahapradhana*, *dandanayaka*, *urodeya* (**Chart IIIB, 73**), *samantas* (**Chart IIIB, 88**), *mahamandaleswara* and *perggade* (**Chart IIIB, 95**). All these officials can be identified as the local potentates and functionaries who had considerable control over the local levels of administration.

This feature of representing the dominant social groups of the society as witnesses of the grant is further augmented in TYPE IV, where we have come across a greater variety of such groups who were clearly local potentates, functionaries and merchant and artisan groups and so on. To define local potentates, we have terms such as the *mahasamanta* (**Chart IIIB, 24, 39, 43, 56, 58, 62**) and *dandanayaka* (**Chart IIIB, 39, 43, 48, 50, 52, 55, 76, 78, 85**). Besides, we also have reference to other groups functioning at the local level administration such as the *mahajanas* (**Chart IIIB, 6, 25-27, 37, 72, 76, 79, 93**), *urodeya* (**Chart IIIB, 25, 26, 76**), *nargavunda* (**Chart IIIB, 3, 33**), *g^vunca* (**Chart IIIB, 3, 17, 23, 40, 46, 50**), *pradhanas* (**Chart IIIB, 33, 41, 55**), *dharmadhyaksha* (**Chart IIIB, 33**), *reddi* (**Chart IIIB, 40**) and *nijaka* (**Chart IIIB, 64**). Interestingly, all these names also refer to both the donors and donees in some other examples in inscriptions as described earlier in the chapter. This clearly marks a change from other TYPES mentioned above, where similar terms refer to officials of the State and are therefore, not referred to as donors or donees. Under TYPE IV, we observe a changing social¹ order, where at the local level those social groups that were empowered only acted as witnesses. At the same time, due to the enhanced autonomy at the local and village level, we also note that they emerge as dominant socio-economic groups that enabled them to participate in a patronage system leading to prefiguring of relations between the main ruling family and the local chiefs as rulers.

expand the territoriality of his kingdom by controlling smaller units of space. Hence, in his capacity as the owner of the entire land he made donations mainly to *brahmanas* who were loyal to him and at the same time possessed superior knowledge of agrarian technology that would enhance the food production needed for supporting the populace in the core area. Thus, it is evident that the king in the early stages of the formation of State used patronage mechanism to validate his political authority rather than using ideological mechanisms by fabricating lengthy genealogies. Hence, the genealogies in TYPE I were found short extending only up to three generations. On the other hand, in TYPE II genealogies we pertinently observed in Chapter IV that the kings ventured for vigorous military conquests and this resulted in conquering vast areas having agrarian potentiality. Control of these areas were made possible firstly, by initiating lineage migrations into these nuclear areas as pointed out by us in Chapter IV and secondly, by donating some of these areas to *brahmanas* by converting them into *agraharas*. Examples showing the donation of large groups of villages and individual villages in the already inhabited areas, especially to *brahmanas* is a clear indication to understand the ruling elites strategies to extend and strengthen brahmanical influence as this ensured an extension and consolidation of royal authority via the *brahmana*. With the consolidation of the king's power in small localities, the urge to enhance the royal image by universalizing and legitimizing his authority strengthened and this naturally prompted in creating lengthy family genealogies extending up to more than 25 generations.

In Phase 2 for TYPE III we have noted in the previous Chapter that the territorial expansion in terms of military conquests was limited and the political power of the State was rather nebulous. An analysis of the nature of grants in this TYPE evinced differences between the Eastern Deccan and the Western Deccan. Differences were also noticed with regard to the nature of genealogy between these two sub-regions. Thus, it had been noted that in the context of the Eastern Deccan the grants were still made by the king, thus indicating that he still controlled small units of space. It was further found that in order to extend his social base in the already settled villages the king granted large number villages to *brahmanas* and in some cases to immigrant *brahmanas*. It was around this time that the mythical and semi-historical genealogies

connecting the ancestry of the king with puranic and epic families were fabricated as observed by us in Chapter III. The main motive in still patronizing *brahmanas* through land donations was that they ensured legitimacy to king's claims for superior ancestry. This was crucial in the contemporary delicate political conditions to prove his authority over and above other contending elites in these localities. Nonetheless, one also comes across instances where temples were granted villages. This indicates the important socio-economic and ideological role the temple had to play in the subsequent years. On the other hand, in the context of the Western Deccan, we noticed that most of the grants were made in the form of small pieces of land given in different measurements. This indicates that the exclusive donation of big villages as noted in Phase 1 was now giving way to other forms of grants that were smaller in size. This also testifies to the existence of multiplicity of rights on land. Hence, we noted that grants were not only made by the ruling elites, but even other local chiefs and dominant social groups took part in the donative acts. Further, most of the grants were found to be made chiefly to the temple. Reference to lengthy mythical genealogies of the king in the grants that were made to the temple by these local chiefs is significant because, by now temple has emerged as a dominant ideological institution providing legitimization and identity to the ruling elite. It would also mean the acceptance of king's authority by the rising local chiefs.

In TYPE IV during Phase 2, we have significantly noted a gradual decline in the donations of large lands, which only indicates that the numerous villages that were donated in the earlier phase had by now generated new economic forces leading to the development of an urban economy too. Economic resources came to be vested not only in various functionaries of the temple and the State but it also led consequentially to the creation of a powerful class of landed aristocracy. This had concomitant effect leading to the declining influence of the king as the owner of the land. Though, ruling elites continued to make grants these were, however, donated only in small portions of land. Apart from this a variety of commodities were donated depending on the economic capacity of the donor. Thus, the nature of economic control underwent significant changes from one Phase to the other that in many ways was tied up to how various social groups interacted with the state and also engaged in competing in the new economic scenario. This also had an impact

on the way the genealogies of ruling elites were written in TYPE IV. It was noted that in this PiPE genealogies of ruling elites *are* completely absent and instead the local chiefs genealogies were found in the records. This clearly suggests that with the change in the control of economic resources from the king to the local level political and social groups, there is also a change in writing genealogies that are now written for these social groups by a scribe. In fact the role of scribes as the writers and record keepers is very significant in the early medieval context and therefore, needs some understanding about them.

IV

The rise of scribes or writers' class is concomitant with the emergence of new land grant economy during the early medieval period. As a literate group their importance especially as writers and record keepers had gradually increased, since the kings/ princes employed them to document land transactions or land revenues, which they made to *brahmanas*, priests, temples and officials.¹¹⁵ The purpose for maintaining such records, was to avoid and settle land disputes. Initially *brahmanas* were appointed largely because they had the quickest access to classical knowledge¹¹⁶ and secondly, to meet the fiscal and administrative needs of the community.¹¹⁷ Later by the 9th century AD, kings recruited scribes from different *varrias* who together formed into a professional literate caste known as *kayasthas*.¹¹⁵ A study on the social position of *kayasthas* or scribes caste in Indian society has been attempted earlier by scholars like R. S. Sharma,¹¹⁹ Romila Thapar,¹²⁰ Suvira Jaiswal¹²¹ and C. Gupta.¹²² Hence, our intention here is not to delve deep into these social aspects, but to understand their role especially as writers of genealogies.

It is pertinent to point out at this juncture that as record keepers and writers of numerous inscriptions, the scribes are not only recording the land transactions, but significantly they are also writing for **the** kings their genealogies on a more concrete and permanent medium like copper plates and stone. It may be recalled that in ancient times genealogies of kings were

memorized and transmitted through oral tradition. But from the early medieval period onwards, the kings widely used inscriptions to record their genealogies thus creating permanent written sources. The purpose for writing genealogies on inscriptions was not only to permit effective communication across time and space,¹²³ but also to provide certain immortality to the written source and thus allow its preservation for the posterity.¹²⁴ In this regard, the role of scribes is significant because, as writers of genealogies they formed important channels of communication through which the king mediated his aspirations for superior authority to the public.¹²⁵ This forms one of the reasons for the king to constantly depend on these groups. On the other hand, the proximity of the scribes to all the secrets of the royal exchequer empowered them to exercise considerable control over the king.¹²⁶

In the inscriptions pertaining to the present study, we have strong evidence to these literate groups. For instance, the records to which TYPE I genealogical data are attached furnished about 18 examples out of 60 that rendered names of the writer (*lekha*) (**Chart IIIA, 6, 9, 12, 15, 27, 28, 33, 38, 40-44, 75, 77, 83, 86, 95**). Apart from their names we do not have any information on their family background. But the very fact that their names are mentioned indicates that they may have come perhaps from reputed *brahmana* families having sound educational background. On the other hand, we noted large number of examples where they are not mentioned at all. This may be perhaps the scribes did not wish to reveal their names. Further, since genealogies are short in this TYPE, the scribes perhaps also combined the job of the composing the genealogies for the king. Nonetheless, by doing so they are creating a permanent archival source. Thus, one could see from the above instances that these groups had just begun to emerge as a significant force and their importance was gradually being recognized as authorities who had control over royal records.¹²⁷

The growing importance of scribes can be evidenced from the examples in TYPE II, where there is a relative increase in the examples that refer to their names. Thus, we have 30 instances as against 18 in TYPE I (**Chart IIIA, 11, 34, 48, 49-55, 57, 58, 60, 66, 73, 74, 76, 88, 90, 92, 95, 104-106, 108, 109, 112, 114, 115, 117**). This amply suggests that with an increase in the economic activity with large-scale land transactions taking place their

association with the central government had become crucial. Further, they also drafted lengthy genealogies for their patrons on the basis of past records that are kept in their custody. This further enhanced their importance in the society.¹²⁸ This can be attested from the fact that in some cases they also acted as the executor of the grant, thus combining the functions of the composer, writer and executor. However, the growing complexity of drafting land grant charters due to constant transfers of land or land revenues coupled with the desire of the king to enhance his royal image, a new class of composers distinct from the writers have emerged. Interestingly, this trend was noticed from the later half of Phase 1 in TYPE II examples. Thus, we have 9 examples that refer to the names of composers. Most of these groups perhaps were brought from outside,¹²⁹ since in all examples their names are found suffixed with appellation "*Bhatta*", such as Madhava Bhatta, Potana Bhatta, Peddana Bhatta, etc., (Chart IIIA, 91, 105, 106, 111, 112, 114-117). This amply suggests the need to separate the jobs of composing and writing of records was greatly felt. It further, increased specialization of these groups, each differentiated from the others, but all participating in the process to create the record and its contents so useful for the issuing authority. Their greater visibility was also reflected in the composition of lengthy genealogies for the king that provided him with ideological legitimacy. This necessarily meant that they had to be remunerated for the services they were rendering for the royal families.

The urge for the kings to elevate their royal status on a scale larger than their limited core-area/ locality made them seek the support of Sanskrit-chanting *brahmanas*¹³⁰ who composed lengthy genealogical eulogies for the king connecting his family to the mythic and puranic past. This was found utmost necessary to enhance the social identity of the king because of his diminishing political control. Hence, during Phase 2, i.e., from the 11th century AD we noticed the kings patronizing poets of high repute like Nannayya Bhatta, Bilhana,¹³¹ Pampa and others. These poets wrote biographies for the king and therefore, were obviously familiar with historical tradition. Further, most of them have same social background with identical education. The *Kavya* style adopted in this genre of literature soon found its place in the inscriptional *prasastis*. The necessity to incorporate them in inscriptions was motivated by the fact that these can easily be communicated to the larger public as they also

deal with grant portion that was addressed to the inhabitants of the village, whereas the literary text is meant for individual possession.

This means an enhanced role of the writers and composers and further differentiation between these groups. Hence, in TYPE III genealogies in Phase 2, we noted from the records in the Eastern Deccan, a regular reference to the names of both the writer as well as the composer. This is in contrast to TYPE I examples and most of the examples in TYPE II. Thus, in TYPE III, we noted the names of the writer mentioned in 11 examples (7, 11, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 60, 61, 66, 91) and those of the composers occur in 9 examples (Chart IIIB, 7, 11, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 60, 61, 66, 92). An increasing reference to the names of the writer class and the composers of the *prasastis*, who now constituted a differentiated group from the other rural social groups, suggests to their crucial position, between the local social configuration and the ruling elites. For they later, as is well known, were successful in fabricating mythical genealogies that had become an important feature in the genealogies of TYPE III.

TYPE IV in Phase 2, presents a peculiar tendency. We have earlier noted that in this TYPE most of the donations were made to the temple not only by the king but also by the local level elites who formed as a wealthy class in the society. The permanent endowments accumulated by temple carried a number of implications. The very complexity of temple economy, the necessity of feeding and clothing its priesthood, meant keeping records of income and outgoings. In all these contexts temples made writing as extensively for carrying out its activities.¹³² Since most of the grants to temples are recorded on temple walls for greater visibility, this required a specialized artisan class who could engrave inscriptions on walls. In most cases they combined all the three jobs of composing writing and engraving the land charter. In the present context, we have ample references to show that the writers have come from artisan groups rather than *brahmanas*, as noticed in previous TYPES. This is indicated to us from their names suffixed with 'oja' as in Maruloja (Chart IIIB, 6), Saivoja (Chart IIIB, 39) and so on. In this TYPE, we have 17 examples that refer to the writers of charters (Chart IIIA, 119) (Chart IIIB, 6, 12, 17, 23, 29, 30, 35, 37, 43, 46-48, 64, 67, 74, 80). However, there three examples that

referred to the composer (**Chart IIIB, 36, 39, 46**) and 2 examples to the engraver of the charter, since most of the land records during this period appeared on stone (**Chart IIIB, 17, 67**). These groups are attached to the offices of the *sandhivigrahika*, *senabova*, *tantrapala* and *karanam* who maintained revenue and royal records at different levels of administrative structure.

Further, the importance of scribes had immensely increased during this time as the local chiefs and other dominant and affluent social groups of the society who also exercised concomitantly administrative control also patronized them. They appointed scribes to write donative inscriptions for them, for which they may have been paid enormously as they were also responsible for the highly eulogistic genealogies that they wrote for their patrons in a typical *kavya* style. This not only enhanced the growing importance of the local chief, but alternatively it also increased the wealth and importance of the scribes' who now began to emerge with a caste identity known as the *kayasthas* in other parts of the country.¹³³ They played a vital role in this sphere of administration, during the early medieval period.

Thus from the discussion on the above category of information on scribes, we can assess their importance not only for their crucial role in maintaining land records, but also as writers of 'history' for the ruling families, which was done by collating and collecting various oral and archival sources. While doing so, they are naturally going back in 'time' even to remote past to write mythical genealogies for their patrons. Further, in most cases they wrote genealogies to meet the growing aspirations of the ruling families that often depicted change from time to time as noted in different TYPES of genealogies of the present study. Moreover, as literate groups, they also possessed knowledge in complex calendrical systems, as this is needed in dating the document. Thus, they are also controllers of time both the past and the present time.

V

This brings our discussion to the concluding aspect of this Chapter, namely, to understand evolutionary process of the notion of smaller units of

specific and 'real' time, and its bearing on genealogies. It is found that this is recorded in inscriptions at the time when the grant is actually effected and therefore, carries rich significance as it basically records contemporary time¹³⁴ and therefore, simultaneously becomes an agency of social control.¹³⁵ This is indicative of the ruling elite's concern about contemporary issues and not about their past. Often contemporary time is expressed in terms of the year (*sarnvatsara*), month (*masa*), fortnight (*paksa*), Lunar day (*vara*), Luni-solar day (*tithi*) and so on.

In the context of the present study, we have noted that these small units of time are presented in different categories. Thus, we have examples, where only the occasion of the grant is mentioned in general terms. In some, there is mention of both month (*masa*) and weekday (*tithi*) on which it was made. In few others, we have reference to at least four or five units of time and so on. In this regard, we have noted that in the context of grants attached to TYPE I genealogical data, we have about 16 examples that refer only to the occasion on which the grant was made (**Chart IIIA, 15, 22, 45, 63, 70, 71, 77-86**). Interestingly, it has been noted that majority of these examples belonged to the Eastern Chalukyan dynasty. Similarly, in one instance only *masa* is mentioned (**Chart IIIA, 30**). Likewise, examples referring to two units of time in different combinations such as *masa* and *tithi* (**Chart IIIA, 6, 7, 12, 16, 20, 25, 31, 32, 37, 42-44**), *masa* and the occasion (**Chart IIIA, 5, 27**) are found in about 14 examples. Besides, there are 11 examples that have mentioned three units of time. These are found in such combinations as, the *sarnvatsara*, *masa* and *tithi* (**Chart IIIA, 3, 4**). *masa*, *tithi* and the occasion (**Chart IIIA, 18, 19, 39-41, 62, 75**) and *masa* *tithi* and *paksa* or fortnight (**Chart IIIA, 21, 28**). However, one has interestingly noted that reference to more than three units of time are very few in TYPE I. In this regard, we have noted only three examples. Thus in one instance, we found the record had mentioned the *masa*, *vara*, occasion and the *muhurta* on which the grant was given (**Chart IIIA, 10**). In a couple of other examples we noted the mention of five units of time, namely, the *masa*, *paksa*, *tithi*, *vara* and *naksatra* (**Chart IIIA, 33, 35**). However, it must be noted that most of the examples in TYPE I, refer only to one, two or three units of time. However, there are an equal

number of examples that do not mention any unit of time when the grant was made. In this regard, we have noted about 15 examples (**Chart IIIA, 1, 2, 8, 9, 13, 14, 17, 23, 24, 26, 29, 36, 38, 67, 95**).

Similarly, in grants attached to TYPE II of the genealogical data in Phase 1, we notice several examples that do not mention these small units of time. In this regard, we have about 21 examples as against 15 in TYPE I that do not do so (**Chart IIIA, 11, 46, 57, 58, 69, 73, 89-94, 98-100, 107-110, 116, 117**). Other combinations of the units of time as found in TYPE II are as follows. About 7 examples referred to only one unit of time, namely, the occasion on which grant was made, (**Chart IIIA, 87, 88, 96, 97, 102, 111, 112**) which is less than what has been mentioned for TYPE I. Similarly, 14 examples in TYPE II mention two units of time, namely *masa* and *tithi* (**Chart IIIA, 47-50, 52, 54, 56, 59, 60, 64-66, 72, 76**). In the examples referring to three units of time, we noted several combinations such as *masa*, *paksa* and *tithi*, *vara*, occasion and *naksatra*, the occasion, *naksatra* and *ghata lagna* and so on. In this regard, we have 9 examples (**Chart IIIA, 34, 51, 53, 55, 61, 74, 104, 113, 115**). A slight rise is noted in examples that refer to more than three units of time. In this regard, we have noted 5 examples in this TYPE as against 3 in TYPE I (**Chart IIIA, 101, 103, 105, 106, 114**). Thus, for instance in the Parabhani¹³⁶ inscription of Arikesari III, it was found that the time is recorded in terms of *masa*, *tithi*, *vara* and *samvatsara*, which is described as *akshya samvatsara* (**Chart IIIA, 114**). Thus we noted, that even in TYPE II, examples mentioning one, two or three units of time are greater in number compared to those mentioning more than three units. Similarly, like in TYPE I in TYPE II too, reference to *sanivatsara* remains limited to only a couple of examples. It is therefore, clear that the idea of referring to time in terms of *samvatsara* (cyclic year) may not have gained currency during this phase. Further, isolated references to other minute details of time reckoning like *lagna*, *naksatra*, and *muhurta*, in this Phase indicate that though the knowledge about these astrological units of time existed, yet the incorporation of these into inscriptions while making grants to get greater precision was not fully implemented.

In contrast, Phase 2 of the present study shows tremendous change in the way various units of time are mentioned in the inscriptions. In this Phase, where we have two TYPES of genealogical information namely, TYPE III and TYPE IV, we noted that a greater number of examples refer to more than three units of time when compared to TYPE I and TYPE II in Phase 1. Thus, in the context of TYPE III, we noted that there are at least 18 examples out of 28 that refer to more than three categories of time. This is surely an increase over TYPES I and II of Phase 1. Thus, we have 4 examples that refer to either *sarpvatsara*, *masa*, *tithi* and *vara* (Chart IIIB, 14, 88) or *paksa*, *tithi*, *vara* and occasion (Chart IIIB, 19, 96). In 6 more examples, five units of time are mentioned. These are mentioned in combinations such as *sarpvatsara*, *masa*, *paksa*, *vara* and occasion or *masa*, *paksa*, *tithi*, *naksatra* and *lagna* etc., (Chart IIIB, 10, 59, 73, 84, 97, 98). Unlike in earlier TYPES, in TYPE III we also found examples that mention six units of time, that includes *paksa*, *tithi*, *vara*, occasion, *lagna* and *rasi* or *naksatra*, *masa* etc., and we have 6 examples of this kind (Chart IIIB, 7, 11, 36, 38, 44, 66). This however, does not mean that we do not have examples that refer to one, two or three units of time. But, it has been noted that these are mentioned only in few examples. Thus, we have three examples that mention only the occasion on which the donation was given (Chart IIIB, 53, 54, 61). Similarly, there are three examples that mentioned three categories of time (Chart IIIB, 4, 20, 69). There are also 4 examples in which there is a complete absence of different units of time as described above (Chart IIIB, 60, 83, 91, 95). Significantly, we also noted that while in the inscriptions belonging to the Western Deccan there is continuous reference to *sarpvatsara*, the same is found absent in the inscriptions pertaining to the Chalukyan families of the Eastern Deccan. Similarly, while the inscriptions of the Eastern Deccan referred to other minute details of astrological time such as *naksatra*, *rasi* and *lagna* that are based on minute calculations, these are found to be omitted in the examples belonging to the Western Deccan. This point to sub-regional variations in referring to smaller units of time based on astrological calculations.

In the examples belonging to grants attached to TYPE IV genealogical data that are predominantly located in the Western Deccan, we found that a

large majority of examples give us more than three units of time. In this regard, we found one example mentioning seven units of time, namely, *samvatsara*, *masa*, *paksa*, *tithi*, *vara*, occasion and *naksatra* (**Chart IIIB, 46**). However, a large number of examples refer to six units of time and we have 20 examples in this regard (**Chart IIIA, 118**) (**Chart IIIB, 9, 13, 16-18, 27, 29-32, 34, 35, 45, 47, 49, 51, 52, 56, 58**). One has further pertinently noted a tremendous increase in the examples referring to five units of time wherein we get 34 examples with different combinations of small units of time (**Chart IIIB, 1, 2, 8, 22-23, 25, 26, 28, 33, 40-42, 48, 50-58, 63, 69, 71, 75, 76, 78, 79, 88, 90, 91, 93**). Similarly, reference to four units of time is also found though the number of examples referring to it are considerably low when compared to the above two categories. They too are mentioned in different combinations giving us 7 examples (**Chart IIIB, 5, 6, 24, 43, 55, 64, 81**). Interestingly, we noted that in this TYPE examples referring to one, two or three categories of time are very few, compared to their greater reference in TYPES I and II during Phase 1. In this regard, we have 6 examples that refer only to *samvatsara* and occasion on which the grant was made (**Chart IIIA, 120**) (**Chart IIIB, 15, 37, 39, 63, 93**). In two separate examples only *samvatsara* (**Chart IIIB, 3**) and *vara* (**Chart IIIB, 69**) are mentioned. An interesting feature is that in the TYPE IV genealogical pattern the grant portions do not even give a single example that does not mention these small units of time. Thus, in Phase 2, for both TYPES III and IV, we noted that a majority of inscriptions refer to more than three categories of time. On the one hand, this indicates advancements made in the application of astronomical calculations for particular purposes of social usage and on the other hand, it indicates the need for greater precision in recording specific or "real" time because of its significance to note assertion of political and economic authority.

While understanding how the notion of time evolved in recording grants by the ruling elite, we pertinently envisaged that when the genealogies are short and simple as manifested in TYPE I and political control was limited, the contemporary time measured in small units were also in rudimentary state as we had only up to a maximum of three units of time being mentioned. However, along with an expansion of territorial control achieved through

military conquests and the gradual lengthening of the genealogy as evidenced in TYPE II, we noted a steady increase in referring to smaller units of time, that are now found mentioned in greater number of examples. Similarly, when the ruling elites made constant attempts to fabricate social identities through constructing lengthy genealogies and acquiring high sounding political titles that connected the ruling elite to pan-Indian identities of a mythic and epic past in TYPE III during Phase 2, more specific units of time emerged. Thus, we had prolific mention of time in terms of *sarpvatsara* or cyclic year, *masa*, *paksa*, *tithi*, *muhurta*, *lagna*, *naksatra* and so on. This not only explains the significance of these minute notions of time in deriving at exact calendrical calculations, but also emphasizes their ideological underpinnings that have now become more profound. Thus, it is believed that donations made on certain *muhurtas* are considered to be inauspicious as they were presided over by *raksasas*.¹³⁷ Therefore, a proper and auspicious *muhurta*, *lagna* etc., was often chosen as this was regarded important to bestow greater merit on the donor. By the time TYPE IV genealogies that sometimes recorded the local chief's pedigrees emerged, we noted a systematic method of recording smaller units of contemporary time has been formulated and hence, we found them mentioned in all inscriptions during this time. In fact, it may be further noted that all these small details of time mentioned in inscriptions were in accordance with the stipulations laid down in the *Smṛiti*^m texts that in fact emphasized on recording these details of time particularly, when a patron made donation of a gift or grant for the purpose of acquiring merit to himself and his parents.

Thus, from the above nature of evidence, we have discerned that the notion of real or specific time expressed in units such as year, month, fortnight etc., gradually underwent changes in the way they evolved in both phases of our study. While in Phase 1, under TYPES I and II of the genealogical patterns is prefixed to grant portions of inscriptions wherein a large majority of examples only up to three categories of small units of time are mentioned. On the contrary, in Phase 2, under TYPES III and IV, we noted that the idea to record even more minute details of time is expressed through a greater number of small units of time being used to make grants. This further emphasizes on more pragmatic concerns of controlling the present through

social and economic factors as against ideological and political factors of controlling the past as discerned in Chapters III and IV respectively.

From an overall analysis of the above data described for grants appended to four different TYPES of genealogical data, it has been clearly manifested that there was a gradual evolution in the way economic and social controls were put in place by the various Chalukyan ruling families. Hitherto, this data has been used by scholars to characterize the nature of State control. Unlike the views of the proponents of the "Indian Feudalism" theory, the above documented data show that the emergence of localities meant an increase in their social and economic productive base and therefore the nature of control exercised at the local level was not because of the decentralization and fragmentation of an existing State structure but because rural level elites could now effectively exert political power. In fact, the rise of small localities to political prominence was part of a larger process meant integrate different territorial entities through mechanisms of patronage. These control mechanisms were initiated by the State during Phase 1 of this study and were surely not meant to disintegrate their kingdoms but rather, to control territories outside the core areas of their initial control. The emphasis in this Chapter has been to highlight how despite the fact that the genealogical narratives of these families were rooted in larger notions of time and identity, to control specific regions and localities they had to define the rules of governance in terms of small and specific units of time while handling the most pragmatic issues of resource production, mobilization and control. Even if in Phase 1, the State had some control of these localities, their interface with society at large had to be consciously configured in each new sub-region that was conquered. Some of the consequences of these necessary acts of patronage led to the formation of social elites at the local level and during Phase 2, these were the ones that took advantage of the advancing economic change of the different regions. However, mere political and economic mechanisms did not really raise the status of the regional state or the small localities to the pan-Indian level or, ensure stability of their authority. Simultaneously, to achieve this, they needed a more effective mechanisms embedded in the ideological notions that the ruling elites used to link up the region with an overarching pan-Indian tradition. A detailed study of this aspect shall be highlighted by us in the following Chapter.

REFERENCES

¹ D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965, p.3.

² Ibid.

³ Romila Thapar, *Cultural Transaction and Early India: Tradition and Patronage*, Delhi, 1987, p. 26.

"Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ In some of the earliest examples for the Deccan grants were also given to the Buddhist *Sangha* as well. See Romila Thapar, Op. Cit., 1987, p. 30.

⁷ Romila Thapar, *Time as a Metaphor of History: Early India*, Delhi, 1997, p. 10.

⁸ The *masa* or month forms an important aspect of time that has been introduced to reckon time. In the Deccan the common practice of reckoning the month is based on lunar month. In this tradition, the lunar month consists of two fortnights or *paksas* viz., dark and bright. Based on these calculations the lunar month contains twelve months that are named after the *naksatras* or lunar mansions on which the full moon occurs in each one of them. D. C. Sircar, Op. Cit., 1965, p. 223.

⁹ The *paksa* is divided on the basis of the phases of moon. From new-moon to full-moon is called the bright (*suddha*) fortnight. From full moon to new-moon is called dark (*Bahula* or *Krisna*) fortnight, because the light decreases. Hence, this division of time in equal number of 15 days each therefore, constituted a *paksa*⁹. Since, normally a lunar month is based on *paksa* it becomes important to mention this along with the month or *masa*. J. S. F. Mackenzie, "Pamchanga" or Indian Almanac', *IA*, III, 1874, p. 138.

¹⁰ Another important Element of time that has been dated in the documents of our study is the specification of a *tithi*. A *tithi* is the lunar day. However, it does not necessarily correspond in time with *Vara*, which is a Weekday. Ibid.

¹¹ Another important aspect of time that was generally referred while recording the time was related to the solar day or *Vara* that is reckoned from sunrise to sunrise and derives its name from one to seven principal planets to which it is more especially consecrated. The mention of these solar Weekdays suggests another cyclic method of reckoning time. It has further, been mentioned that the earliest reference to Weekday occurs in Indian epigraph only in the last quarter of the 5th century AD. D. C. Sircar, Op. Cit., 1965, p. 226.

¹⁴ The *Naksatra* referred to minute details through which time came to be measured and recorded. These are generally 27 in number and are the constellations through which the moon in his monthly course passes. Great importance is attached to them in all astrological calculations. Ibid.

¹³ Romila Thapar, Op. Cit., 1997, p. 10.

" Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰ Romila Thapar, *A1SH*, 1996, p. 94.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 95.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 105.

¹⁹ Romila Thapar, Op. Cit., 1987, p. 26.

²⁰ A. Aruna, 'Religious Patronage and Identity Formation- A Study of Jaina Inscriptions (6th- 12th centuries AD)', in Aloka Parasher, B. Subrahmanyam and E. Siva Nagi Reddy (eds.), *Kevala-Bodhi, Buddhist and Jaina History of the Deccan*, Delhi, 2003, p. 266.

²² When the villages were granted it was meant that the revenues of those villages now went to the donee. In the case of land grants too sometimes it was only the taxes due to the State that were granted. Ibid.

²³ Hermann Kulke, 'The Early and the Imperial Kingdom: A Processural Model of Integrative State Formation in Early Medieval India', in Hermann Kulke (ed.) *The State in India, 1000-1700*, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 239-240.

²⁴ P. S. Kanaka Durga and Y. A. Sudhakar Reddy, 'Kings, Temples and Legitimation of Autochthonous Communities', *JESHO*, 25: 1992, p. 145.

²⁵ R. S. Sharma, Op. Ot., 1965, p. 281.

²⁶ Hermann Kulke, Op. Cit., 1995, pp. 239-240.

²⁷ Suvira Jaiswal, 'Studies in Early Indian Social History: Trends and Possibilities', *IHR*, Vol. VI, 1979-80, p. 27.

²⁸ P. S. Kanaka Durga and Y. A. Sudhakar Reddy, Op. Cit., 1992, p. 159.

²⁹ *IA*, VII, 1878, pp. 185-191.

³⁰ *£*/, VIII, 1905-1906, pp. 237-241.

³¹ *El*, XVIII, 1925-26, pp. 1-5.

³² B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao, *Social Mobility in Medieval Andhra*, Hyderabad, 1995, p. 40.

³³ The transformation of the boyas from tribe to a caste has interested scholars like R. N. Nandi. He has looked at the process of acculturation of these tribes into the caste order. See for instance, R. N. Nandi, 'The Boyas- Transformation of a Tribe into Caste', *IHC*, 30th Session, 1968, pp. 94- 103. Also see, Suvira Jaiswal, Op. Cit., 1979-80, p. 27. According to B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao, this process of transformation of the boyas from tribe to caste ultimately resulted in losing their tribal identity. See, B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao, Op. Cit., 1995, p. 78. However, P. V. Parabrahma Sastry does not agree with Hanumantha Rao's presumptions. Instead Sastry argues that the aboriginal boyas did not give up their caste identity and nor did they claim for higher caste status. P. V. Parabrahma Sastry, 'The Boyas in Andhra History', *PAPHC*, Guntur, 1986, p. 73.

³⁴ B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao, Op. Cit., 1995, p.40.

³⁵ Hermann Kulke, Op. Cit., 1995, p. 237.

³⁷ The term *amatya* has been interpreted to mean a minister or the executive officer in charge of a district. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, p. 17.

³⁸ The term '*Samanta*' is referred to the title of a subordinate chief. Ibid. p. 187.

³⁹ *El*, V, 1898-99, pp. 127-131.

⁴⁰ The term '*Senadhipati*' is interpreted to mean a military governor of a district or the commander-in chief of the army. Ibid. pp. 308-309

⁴¹ *IA*, II, 1873, pp. 175-76; *IA*, XIII, 1884, pp. 51-52.

⁴² B. N. S. Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India, in the 12th century AD*, Allahabad, 1973, p. 136.

⁴³ B. D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Political Processes and Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India: Problems of Perspectives', *Social Scientist*, vol. 13, 1985, p. 18.

⁴⁴ The term *Dandadhinatha* also means *Dapdanayaka*, who is interpreted as 'a military general' or 'a leader of forces'. D. C. Sircar, *Op. Cit.*, 1966, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁵ The term *Sandhivigrahi* is interpreted as 'a minister in charge of peace and war' and also as 'an officer of foreign relations department'. Ibid. p. 295

⁴⁶ The term *Mahamandalesvara* is generally understood as the title of a feudatory ruler or the governor. Ibid. PP- 179-180 and is also interpreted as the 'ruler of a *mandala* or district'. Ibid.

⁴⁷ The term *Mahasamanta* is interpreted to mean 'the great chieftain' and the title usually indicated a higher rank than the *samanta*. Ibid. p. 187.

⁴⁸ The term *Mahajanas* is referred to the '*brahmapa* members of a village assembly'. Ibid. p. 177.

⁴⁹ Y. Tejaswini, *Social History of the Deccan*, New Delhi, 2003.

⁵⁰ D. N. Jha, *Studies in Early Indian Economic History*, New Delhi, 1980, pp. 74-89.

⁵¹ Cynthia Talbot, *Pre-Colonial India In Practice: Society, Region and Identity in Medieval Andhra*, New Delhi, 2001, p. 86.

⁵² Romila Thapar, *Op. Cit.*, 1987, pp. 35-36.

⁵³ Robert Bocock and Kenneth Thompson (eds.) *Religion and Ideology*, Manchester, 1991, p. 59.

¹⁶ The term *Civunda* is interpreted to mean a village headman or a chief farmer. G. S. Dikshit, *Local Self Government in Medieval Kamataka*, Dharwar, 1964, pp. 64-65 & p. 69.

¹⁷ The term *Nargivunda* is equated to mean district headman or a non-official head of a sub-division. Ibid. pp. 38-39

⁵⁸ The term *Talabogi* has been explained to indicate a person who has been entrusted with 'the enjoyment of land granted for the maintenance of temple at the time of its consecration'. D. C. Sircar, Op. Cit., 1966, p. 333.

⁵⁹ The terms *Perjmkada* and *Sumkha* came to be identified as a tax or a toll and by prefixing these terms to *perggade*, the terms in this context have been used to indicate a collector of taxes. Ibid. p. 37.

⁶⁰ The term *Senabova* has been interpreted to mean a clerk or a village accountant. D. C. Sircar, Op. Cit., 1966, p. 308.

⁶¹ The term *Reddi* has been interpreted to mean a village official. Ibid. p. 280.

⁶² The term *setti* has been interpreted to mean a 'merchant' or 'a leading member of a guild'. Ibid. p. 309.

« The term *Gatrigas* has been understood as the constituents of the guild of five hundred. G. S. Dikshit, Op. Cit., 1964, p. 30.

6" Arjun Appadurai, 'Kings, Sects and Temples in South India, 1300-1700 A. D.', *IESHR*, j4, 1: 1977, pp. 47-73.

⁶⁵ Burton Stein, 'The Economic Function of a Medieval South Indian Temple', *JAS*, 14: 1960, pp. 163-176.

^ Cynthia Talbot, Op. Cit., 2001, p. 29

£⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Kesavan Veluthat, 'The Temple-base of the Bhakti Movement in South India', *IHC*, 40, pp. 188-189.

⁶⁹ The term *Karanam* has been equated to a village accountant. G. S. Dikshit, Op. Cit., 1964, p. 18.

⁷⁰ The term *Nayaka* has been interpreted as a village headman. Ibid. p. 62.

⁷¹ The term *Orodeya* came to be interpreted as the village headman. Ibid. p. 62.

⁷² The *settiguttas* on the other hand referred to the leaders of merchants. G. S. Dikshit, Op. Cit., 1964, p. 32.

⁷³ B. D. Chattopadhyaya, Op. Cit., 1985, p. 8.

⁷⁴ The term *nivartana* is interpreted as an area of land, which does not have one unit of measurement and varied during different ages and localities. In this regard, D. C. Sircar, brings to our notice the various measurements that were prevalent in different periods. Ibid. In most of the Telugu inscriptions a *Nivartana* is equated to *Maruturu* or *mattar* in Kannada. P. Sreemvasachar, *Corpus Inscriptions of Telangana District*, PP. 206-08.

⁷⁵ *Khandika* is referred to a land measure, that is equivalent to *Puni*.

⁷⁶ *Puni* is equated to 20 *tumus* also called *Khandi* or *Khandika* and regarded as equal to between 800 and 1000 seers. The *Puni* and its fractions also denote the area of land that is supposed by some to produce of the particular quantities of grain. According to some, it is a land measured equal to 8 acres being presumably the area which can be sown with a *puni* of grain. D. C. Sircar, Op. Cit., 1966, p. 268.

⁷⁷ *Maruturu* or *mattar*, an equivalent to *nivartana*-

⁷⁸ *Vita* or *Vjti* or *vaolca* is interpreted as a garden plot or orchard or a house site. C. P. Brown, *Telugu- English Dictionary*, New Delhi, 1997, p. 1155.

⁷⁹ B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Aspects of Rural Settlements and Rural Society in early Medieval India*, Calcutta, 1990, p. 3.

⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 4.

⁸¹ S. J. Mangalam defined *grama* as a piece of land, the area of which is a *krosa* or a land yielding a yield of 1000 *karshas*. See, S. J. Mangalam, *Historical Geography and Toponymy of Andhra Pradesh*, New Delhi, 1986, p. 10

⁸² R. C. Hiremath, 'Linguistic Investigation of Some Place Names in Karnataka¹', *JIH*, XXXI, I, 1953, p. 84.

⁸³ The term *Vioa* and its variants '*vsti*', '*varika*' has been interpreted to mean a piece of enclosed ground or enclosure of a village or town and so on. Ibid. '*Vada*' also came to be equated to a settlement space constituted to 10 or more huts and always with a small village set up. See, S. C. Joshi, 'Etymology of Place Names Patti-Hatti', *ABORI*, XXXIII, Poona, 1952, p. 49.

^{s4} The term '*kuma*' is interpreted to mean a pond. In this sense, a place name ending with a '*kunia*' may connote to a settlement with a water resource. C. P. Brown, *Telugu- English Dictionary*, New Delhi, 1997, p. 288.

^{sb} The term '*konc.a*' indicates to a settlement around a hilly region. Usually it is found that temples are located on hilly regions.

⁶⁶ The term '*Pura*' in this context may be equated to mean a fortified settlement. Om Prakash Prasad, *Decay and Revival of Urban Centres in Medieval South India (AD 600-AD 1200)*, New Delhi, 1989, p. 73. Sometimes it is also equated to a town. B. B. Raja Purohit, 'Distribution of Halli and Pura Suffixes in Karnataka¹', *Studies in Indian Place Names*, IV, Mysore, 1984, p. 119 and still sometimes it could mean a city. D. C. Sircar, Op. at., 1966, p. 266.

^{i"} '*Nagara*' is equated to mean a city or a town. D. C. Sircar, Op. Cit., 1966, p. 259.

^w '*Panana*' on the other hand is equated to mean a market place, a prosperous city and when it is suffixed to a *njadhJni*, it would mean a large town constituting a seat of political authority. Om Prakash Prasad, Op. Cit., 1989, p. 73

⁸⁹ *JAHS*, XI, 1938, pp. 80-88.

⁹⁰ Later the princes of this family are known to have asserted their independence. K. Suryanaraya, *History of the Minor Chalukyan Families in Medieval Andhra Desa*, Delhi, 1986, pp. 41-67.

⁹¹ It has been noted that when this donation was made in 970 AD, the Eastern Chalukyan polity was already on the verge of disintegration.

Bhairabi Prasad Sahu, 'Aspects of Rural Economy in Early Medieval Orissa', *Social Scientist*, Vol. 21, 1993, p. 54.

Vi-ayapatis are generally understood as the governors of a district called *Visaya*.

⁹⁴ *Mahattaras* constituted the landed aristocracy in the village.

⁹⁵ *Grsmabhogikas* or *bhogikas* were the official recorders who wrote the charters and, in all probability, enjoyed *bhdgas* or some land holdings and thus came to be known as *bhogikas*. This implies that they are exempted from all taxes. C. Gupta, *The Kayasthas- A Study in the Formation and Early History of Caste*, Calcutta, 1996, p. 25.

⁹⁶ *Naiydgikas* were officers in charge of administrative unit.

⁹⁷ *RSsirakotas* were the village headmen who were also interpreted as landholders.

⁹⁸ Hermann Kulke, Op. Cit., 1995, p. 243.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Bhairabi Prasad Sahu, Op. Cit., 1993, p. 57.

¹⁰¹ *El*, Vol V, 1898-99, pp. 71-73.

¹⁰² The term *kamma* is equated to land measure of one- hundredth of a *matrar* of *nivartana*. D. C. Sircar, Op. Cit., 1966, p. 141.

¹⁰³ R. Champakalakshmi, 'Urbanization in South India: The Role of Ideology and Polity', Presidential Address, *IHC*, 47th Session, Srinagar, 1986, p. 14.

¹⁰⁴ Aloka Parasher sen, 'Renunciation and Pilgrimage in the Jain Tradition', in S. Rajagopal (ed), *KAVAR1, Studies in Epigraphy, Archaeology and History*, Chennai, 2001, p. 469.

¹⁰¹ G. S. Dikshit, Op. Cit., 1964, p. 163.

¹⁰⁶ R. Champakalakshmi, Op. Cit., 1986, p. 14.

¹⁰⁷ In this regard, Ashok Shettar's work that focussed on the early medieval Southern Karnataka has attested to the increase in the references to tanks from the middle of the 11th century AD onwards in the inscriptional sources. See, Ashok Shettar, 'Aspects of Agricultural Expansion in Early Medieval Southern Karnataka¹' in K. Veerathappa (ed.) *Studies m Karnataka History and Culture*, (Proceedings Vol. II of the Karnataka History Congress), Mysore, 1987, p. 71.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ R. N. Nandi, Op. Cit., 1984, p. 50.

¹¹⁰ R. S. Sharma, Op. Cit., 1980, p. 226.

¹¹¹ M. R. Tarafdar, 'Trade and Society in Early Medieval Bengal', *IHR*, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 274-284.

¹¹² R. Champakalakshmi, Op. Cit., 1986, pp. 18-30.

¹¹³ R. N. Nandi, Op. Cit., 1984, p. 4.

^{''} The term *visa* is equated to one-sixteenth part of the measurement. N. Mukunda Rao, *Kalmga under the Eastern Gangas (Ca. 900 AD to Ca. 1200 AD)*, Delhi, 1991, P-xvii.

¹¹⁵ R. S. Sharma, ***Social Change in Early Medieval India (circa A. D. 500-1200)***, New Delhi, 1969, p. 14.

¹¹⁶ Romila Thapar, Op. Cit., 1996, p. 10.

¹¹⁷ R. S. Sharma, Op. Cit., 1969, p. 15.

¹¹⁸ Romila Thapar, Op. Cit., 1996, p. 123.

¹¹⁹ R. S. Sharma, points out to the underlying conflict between the kayasthas, **since the** latter despite their low caste status equivalent to *Sudras*, maintained records of land grants that was hitherto their sole prerogative. R. S. Sharma, Op. Cit., 1969, pp. **15-16**.

¹²⁰ The evolution of the kayasthas from a low caste originating from the inter-mixing of *brahman* and *iudra*, by the 9th century and its widespread importance by the Hth century AD as an occupational group caused by the administrative and **economic need** for scribes and administrators, according to Thapar is an excellent example **to show** upward social mobility of a caste. See Romila Thapar, Op. Cit., 1996, p. 123.

¹²¹ Suvira Jaiswal refers to the kayasthas as a caste formed out of fusion of professional groups into one *varna* /caste category rather than fission among groups. See *Caste*, Delhi, 1998, p. 2.

¹²² While the above works deal with Kayasthas only briefly, C. Gupta has made a detailed study on the kayasthas and had traced the evolution of this caste since ancient times. The work throws important insights about the writers class during the early medieval period. See C. Gupta, Op. Cit., Calcutta, 1996.

¹²³ Joanne Rappaport, 'Mythic Images Historical Thought and Printed Texts: The Paez **and the** Written word, *JAR*, Vol. 43, No. 1, 1987, p. 43.

¹²⁴ Jack Goody, *The Logic of writing and the Organization of Society*, Cambridge, 1986, p. 124.

¹²⁵ In this regard Kunal Chakrabarti emphasizes that more than literacy level of the people it was the methods and channels of communication that are more important to serve as a persisting form of arrangements for handling down cultural substance. See, Introduction: Modes of Communication in a Literate Civilization', *Studies in History*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1994, p. 175.

¹²⁷ Ibid. p. 22.

¹²⁸ Ibid. 22.

¹²⁹ Writing chiefly in the context of such references for Karnataka as a whole, Sister M. Liceria has concluded upon the possibility of these *bnhma*^s having migrated from such areas **as Bengal, Karhad and even Tamilnadu**. See 'Emergence of Brahmins as Landed Intermediaries in Karnataka AD 1000-1300', *IHR*, I, 1974, pp. 28-30.

¹³⁰ Velcheru **Narayana Rao**, 'Coconut and Honey: Sanskrit and Telugu in **Medieval Andhra**¹, *Social Scientist*, vol. 23, 1995, p. 26.

¹³¹ Bilhana **belonged to a branch (Sarasvata)** of the Bhargava clan of *brahmans*. A. K. Warder, *An Introduction to Indian Historiography*, Bombay, 1972, p.46.

132 Jack Goody, Op. Cit., 1986, p. 58.

133 ibid. 135.

13' Because of this scrupulous mention of time in inscriptions the epigraphists consider inscriptions as "hard core" evidences. See Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Reflections on State-Making and History-Making in South India, 1500-1800', *JESHO*, Vol. 41, No.3, 1998, p. 382.

13b Romila Thapar, Op. Cit., 1997, p. 11.

1³⁶ N. Venkataramanayya, *The Chalukyas of Vemulavada*, 1953, pp. 92-93

13' Romila Thapar, Op. Cit., New Delhi, 1996, p. 103.

138 AH these details provided so far about the "real" time mentioned in inscriptions appears to have borrowed from the *Smṛti* texts. In fact it has been noted that the framework of the inscriptions is in accordance with the rules laid down in the *smṛtis*. The *smṛtis* prescribed that when 'a king makes a gift of land he should execute a writing (about the gift) for the information of future good kings. He (the king) should issue a permanent edict bearing his signature and the date on a piece of cloth or on a copper-plate marked at the top with his seal and write down thereon the names of his ancestors and of himself, the extent or measurements of what is gifted and set out the passages (from *smṛtis*) that condemn the resumption of gifts". It should bear the king's seal, the year, the month, the fortnight and day and should bear the signature of the superintendent's (royal officers) P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastras*, Vol. II, Part II, Poona, 2nd edition, 1974, pp. 860-861.














CHART III A






PATRONAGE AND NATURE OF GRANTS - PHASE 1 (6th - 10th CENTURIES AD)











S.No	I Inscription/ King /Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee BR Temple Others	V VI	VII Nature of Grants Land	VIII IX Cash/Rev Others	X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII References
1.	Badami Ins. of Pulakeśi I (BCD)	---	---	---	---	---	---	⊙	---	<i>EI</i> , XXVII, 1947-48, pp. 4-9
2.	Badami Ins. of Maṅgaleśa (BCD)	---	MR	BRs	---	■	---	⊙ of ■	---	<i>IA</i> , III, 1874, pp. 305-6
3.	Mahakuta Ins. Maṅgaleśa (BCD)	S, M, T	MR	---	⌌	10 ■	---	⌌ in ⊙	---	<i>IA</i> , XIX, 1890, pp. 7-20
4.	Nerur Ins. Maṅgaleśa (BCD)	S, M, T	MR	BR	---	■	---	⊙	---	<i>IA</i> , VII, 1878, pp. 161-62.
5.	Haidarabad Ins. Pulakeśi II (BCD)	M, O	MR	BR	---	■	---	μ, *, & deposits	μ Sarvvāṅgīyapayama stu (people)	<i>IA</i> , VI, 1877, pp.72-75
6.	Kandalgam Pls. Pulakeśi II (BCD)	M, T	MR	BR	---	■	---	μ	Guṇadevara	<i>IA</i> , XIV, 1885, pp. 330-31
7.	Satara Cp. Of KVV. I (ECV)	M, T	MR	5 BRs	---	■	---	μ	VSP, SMT, GB, MHT	<i>IA</i> , XIX, 1890, pp.303-11
8.	Timmapuram Pls. KVV. I (ECV)	---	MR	40 BR	---	4000 niv	---	⌌	---	<i>EI</i> , IX, 1907-08, pp.317-19
9.	Lohaner Pls. of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	---	MR	BR	---	■	---	μ	RS, BG, RTK, GY, VSP, Guṇadevara	<i>EI</i> , XXVII, 1947-48, pp. 37-41
10.	Kopparam Pls. of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	M, V, O, Muhūrta	MR	BR	---	800 niv	---	μ	Prithviyuvarāja (A)	<i>EI</i> , XVIII, pp.257-261

*Consolidated Key for abbreviations and symbols used in Charts IIIA & IIIB are provided at the end of these charts.

S.No	I Inscription/ King /Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee			VII Nature of Grants			X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII References
				BR	Temple	Others	Land	Cash/Rev	Others			
11.	Aihole Ins. of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	△ in ©	Ravikīrti	ET, VI, 1900-1901, pp. 1-12
12.	Yekkeri Pls. of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	M, T	MR	PR	[H]	---	67 niv in different	---	5 Jack △	μ, ♂, ♂	Īśana	ET, V, 1898-99, pp. 6-9
13.	Chiplun Pls. of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	---	MR	BR	---	---	■	---	---	φ	Vishaya Vasinas	ET, III, 1894-95, pp. 50-53
14.	Lakshmeshwar Pls. of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	---	LC of Sendra lineage	--	Śamkha	---	500 niv	---	---	↑	---	SII, XX, No. 3, BK series, pp. 2-3
15.	Pimpalner Cp. Of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	O	MR	5 BRs	△	---	■	---	---	↑	SMT, VSP, Sarvva janēna, Nāgeśvaren	IA, IX, 1880, pp.293-96
16.	Tummeyanuru Grant of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	M, T	MR	BR	---	---	25 niv measured by RSM	---	---	⊞	---	CPIAPGM, I, 1962, pp. 40-45
17.	Nerur Cp. Of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	---	MR	BR	---	---	■ & 25 niv	---	---	μ	---	IA, VIII, 1879, pp. 43-44
18.	Chipurupalle pls. of KVV. I (ECV)	M, T, O	MR	2 BRs	---	---	■ (Ag)	---	---	⊞	GV, KTB, Atavi Dūrjaya (A)	IA, XX, 1891, pp. 15-18.
19.	Mundakallu Ins. of Ādityavarman	M, T, O	MR	2 BRs	---	---	50 niv & ■	---	---	μ	---	IA, XI, 1882, pp.66-68.
20.	Nerur Grant of Śrī Vijayabhaṭṭārīka- BCD	M, T	MR (Queen)	BR	---	---	■	---	---	μ	---	IA, VII, 1878, pp. 163-164.
21.	Kochre Cp. Of Śrī Vijayabhaṭṭārīka- BCD	M, P, T	-do-	BR	---	---	Vākulakach chha Kshētra	---	---	μ	---	IA, VIII, 1879, pp.44-47.

S. No	I Inscription / King / Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee			V Nature of Grants			X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII References
				BR	Temple	Others	Land/	Cash/Rev	Others			
22.	Three Grants of Jayasimha I (ECV) Grant A	O	MR	2 BRs	---	---	 &  (Ag)	---	---	Kshētra	ADV, KTB & others Parameśvaravarma (A)	<i>EI</i> , XXXI, 1955- 56, pp. 129-133
23.	Grant B	---	MR	2 BRs	---	---	32 niv (Ag)	---	---		Adhikāriṇaḥ, KTB & others. Bhīma Śarma (A)	<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 133-36
24.	Grant C	---	MR	2 BRs	---	---	 (Ag)	---	---		-do-	<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 136-38
25.	Amudalapadu Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	M, T	MR	PR & 27 BRs	---	---		---	---	μ	---	<i>EI</i> , XXXII, 1957, pp. 175-184
26.	Pedda-Maddali Pls. of Jayasimha I (ECV)	---	MR	BR	---	---	 (Ag)	---	---	ṁ	Sīyaśarma (A)	<i>IA</i> , XIII, 1884, pp. 137-139
27.	Talamanchi Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	M, O	MR	PR (Guru of King)	---	---		---	---	μ	Vajravarma 	<i>EI</i> , IX, 1907-08, pp. 98-102
28.	Racchamari Grant of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	M, P, T	MR	BR	---	---	50 niv	---	Peruñcha tenure	μ	Śrī Jayasena 	<i>EA</i> , VI, 1994, pp. 1-5
29.	Pulibumra Pls. of Jayasimha I (ECV)	---	MR	BR	---	---	 (Ag)	---	---	μ	Adhikārapuruṣhas & People (?) Hastikōśa and Virakōśa (A)	<i>EI</i> , XIX, 1927- 28, pp. 254-258
30.	Uchchat thei Grant of Jayasimha I (ECV)	M	MR	BR	---	---	24 puṭṭis	---	---	μ	Buggi (A)	<i>EA</i> , V, 1988, pp. 18-20; 24-25
31.	Pedda- Vegi Pls. of Jayasimha I (ECV)	M, T	MR	BR	---	---	 (Ag)	---	---	μ	Narasimhaśarma (A)	<i>EI</i> , XIX, 1927- 28, pp. 258-261
32.	Niduparu Grant of Jayasimha I (ECV)	M, T	MR	BR	---	---		---	---	μ	ADV, KTB	<i>EI</i> , XVIII, 1925- 26, pp. 55-58

S.No	I Inscription/ King /Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee BR	V Temple	VI Others	VII VIII IX Nature of Grants			X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII References
							Land	Cash/Rev	Others			
33.	Reyuru Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II (ECV)	M, P, T, V, N	MR	59 Bōya BRs	---	---	■ ÷ shares	---	---	μ	Vināyakaśya 	IA, VII, 1878, pp.185-191
34.	Koneki Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II (ECV)	M, P, T	MR	BR	---	---	■ (Ag)	---	---	μ	GMY, RP, TLV, DN, RTK, NKT, Dūta, Bhaṇaṇa, Chēṭaka, Parichāraṇa, Adhyaksha, Praśāstri, Samāharṇi & Nāyaka Gaṃgavijaya Vardhaki 	ĒI, XXXI, 1955-56, pp. 74-80.
35.	Kurtakoti Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	M, T, V	MR	BR	---	---	■	---	---	μ	---	IA, VII, 1878, pp.217-220
36.	Haidarabad Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	---	MR	10 BRs	---	---	■ ÷ shares	---	---	μ	---	IA, VI, 1877, pp.75-78
37.	Kolhapuram Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	M, T	MR at the request of LC	BR	---	---	108 niv	---	---	μ	---	EA, IV, 1975, pp. 9-12
38.	Kondanaguru Pls. of Indravarman (ECV)	---	MR at the request of LC	BR	---	---	■	---	---	μ	Kanakaśarma  Indravarman (A)	ĒI, XVIII, 1925-26, pp.1-5
39.	Pallivada Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II (ECV)	M, T, O	MR	BR	---	---	■	---	---	≡ λ	ADV	IA, VII, 1878, pp.191-92
40.	Pamdimukkala Gr. A of Viṣṇuvardhana II	M, T, O	MR	BR	---	---	12 KH of kōdravabīja	---	---	μ	Lakṣana Saraṇālaya 	Śāṅkaram, 2000, pp. 71-76
41.	Chendalur grant of Maṅgi Yuvarāja (ECV)	M, T, O	MR	6 Bōya BRs	---	---	■ ÷ shares	---	---	μ	GMY, Naiyōgikas Pambeya Sarvōttama 	ĒI, VIII, 1905-06, pp.236-241

S. No	I Inscription/ King / Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee BR	V Temple	VI Others	VII Land/ Nature of Grants	VIII Cash/Rev	IX Others	X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII References
42.	Gadval Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	M, T	MR at the request of (Q)	3 BRs	---	---	50 niv each	---	vaḍḍu	μ	Jayasena  Kuṇḍasvāmin (A)	<i>EI</i> , X, 1909-10, pp.100-106
43.	Velnalli Grant of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	M, T	MR at the request of (Q)	3 BRs	---	---	25 niv each of RSM	---	Vaḍḍu	μ	Jayasena  Kuṇḍasvāmin (A)	<i>CPIAPGM</i> , I, 1962, pp. 46-53
44.	Savnur Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	M, T	MR at the request of (Q)	BR	---	---		---	---	μ	Jayasena 	<i>EI</i> , XXVII, 1947- 48, pp.115-119
45.	Pamidimukkala Grant B of Viṣṇuvardhana II (ECV)	O	MR	BR	---	---	12 KH kōdravāḍḍa	---	---	μ	Parameśvaram (A)	<i>Śāṅkaram</i> , New Delhi, 2000, pp. 71-76
46.	Paniyal Grant of Vinayāditya (BCD)	---	MR	BR	---	---		---	---	μ	---	<i>CPIAPGM</i> , I, 1962, pp.58-63
47.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	M, T	MR at the request of Jain PR	---	Śam kha			---	---	μ	---	<i>SII</i> , XX, 1988, pp.3-4
48.	Jejuri Pls. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	M, T	MR	BR	---	---		---	---	μ	Śrī Rāma Pūnya Vallabha 	<i>EI</i> , XIX, pp. 62- 65
49.	Togushode Cp. Of Vinayāditya (BCD)	M, T	MR	BR	---	---	---	---	Ādityuṅchcha marumanna, Varōyu etc.	μ	-do-	<i>IA</i> , VI, 1877, pp. 85-88
50.	Poona pls. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	M, T	MR	2 BRs	---	---	50 niv	---	---	μ	-do-	<i>EI</i> , XXV, 1939, pp.289-291
51.	Sorab Pls. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	V, O, N	MR at the request of LC	BR	---	---		---	---	μ	-do-	<i>IA</i> , XIX, 1890, pp.146-152

S. No	I Inscription/ King / Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee			VII Land	VIII Nature of Grants		IX Others	X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII References
				BR	Temple	Others		Cash/Rev					
52.	Dayyaminne Pls. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	M, T	MR at the request of Marddakāri	4 BRs	---	---	50 niv each	---	---	---	ṁ	-do-	ET, XXII, 1936, pp.24-29
53.	Musuniparu Pls. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	M, T, O	MR at the request of YR	1. Many BRs 2. BR 3. BR	---	---	1. ṁ 2. 50 niv, 3. 25 niv	---	---	---	μ	-do-	IA, VI, 1877, pp. 88-91
54.	Kirukagamasi Grant of Vinayāditya (BCD)	M, T	MR at the request of LC	BR	---	---	ṁ & uncultivated land in other village	---	---	---	μ	-do-	IA, VII, 1878, pp.300-303
55.	Mayalur Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	M, T, O	MR	BRs	---	---	ṁ	---	---	---	μ	ADV, Śrī Rāma Puṇyavallabha ᳚	ET, XXXIII, 1954-60, pp.311-314
56.	Nerur Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	M, T	MR at the request of LC	BR	---	---	ṁ	---	---	---	ṁ	ADV	IA, 1880, pp.125-130
57.	Rayagad Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	---	MR	BR	---	---	ṁ	---	---	---	μ	NV, Nirāvadya Puṇyavallabha ᳚	ET, X, 1909-10, pp. 14-17
58.	Nerur Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	---	MR at the request of LC	8 BRs	---	---	ṁ	---	---	---	μ	-do-	IA, IX, 1880, pp. 130-132
59.	Shiggaon Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	M, T	-do-	---	᳚ of Mūla-Saṅgha	---	ṁ	---	---	---	μ	---	ET, XXXII, 1957, pp.317-324
60.	Copper Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	M, T	MR at the request of Yuvarāja	BR	---	---	1. ṁ 2. ṁ 3. 25niv	---	---	---	μ	Nirāvadya Puṇyavallabha ᳚	ET, XXVI, 1941-42, pp. 322-36

S. No	I Inscription/ King / Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee			VII Land	VIII Nature of Grants		IX Others	X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII References
				BR	Temple	Others		Cash/Rev					
61.	Alampur Ins. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	M, P, T	PR at the command of MR	---	△	---	---	---	Construct ion of Prakara bandha	---	≡	---	ET, XXXV, 1963, pp. 121-123. CITD, IV, 1973, pp.3-4
62.	Penukaparu Grant of Jayasīṃha II (ECV)	M, T, O	MR	BR	---	---	■	---	---	---	ṁ	NV, KTB, Śrī Prithvī Gāmunḍi (A)	ET, XVIII, 1925, pp. 313-316
63.	Chendara Grant of Jayasīṃha II (ECV)	O	MR	BR	---	---	12 KH	---	---	---	μ	Vissarāmi (A)	EA, V, 1988, pp.20-21, 25-27
64.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	M, T	MR at the request of LC	PR of Mūla saṅgha	△	---	■	---	---	---	△	---	SII, XX, BK Series, 1988, pp.4-5
65.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	M, T	MR at the request of PR	---	Śamkha △	---	■	---	---	---	μ	---	Ibid. pp. 6-7
66.	A Grant of Vijayāditya (BCD)	M, T	MR	BR	---	---	■	---	---	---	---*(lost)	Nirāvadya Puṇyavallabha	ET, XXV, 1939, pp.21-24
67.	Ipur Pls. of Viṣṇu- vardhana III (ECV)	---	(Q) of MR	BR	---	---	1. ■ 2. △, 3. ☉	---	---	---	ṁ	Kādereya Vataṭṭa (A)	ET, XVIII, 1925, pp.58-60
68.	Musinikonda Ins. of Viṣṇuvardhana III (ECV)	M, P, T	MR	Jaina PR of Kāvurūri gaṇa	---	---	■	---	---	---	(Vis) μ	Ayyana Mahādēvi	JAHRS, XVI, 1945, pp.48-49
69.	Nerur Pls. of Vikramāditya II (BCD)	---	MR	BR	---	---	■	---	---	---	ṁ	ADV	JA, IX, 1880, pp.133-135
70.	Bondada Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana III(ECV)	O	MR	BR	---	---	1.30 KH Vṛit- tibīja, 2. ☉ & 3. Vāṭa etc.	---	---	---	μ	Kanṭavelli muṭṭu (A) RTK, KTB	EA, VI, 1994, pp.13-17

S. No	I Inscription / King / Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee			VII Nature of Grants	VIII Cash/Rev	IX Others	X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII References
				BR	Temple	Others						
71.	Kondakariplola Grant. of Viṣṇu-vardhana III (ECV)	O	MR	BR	---	---	12 KH kōdravabija	---	---	μ	---	EA, V, 1988, pp.21-23; 27-29
72.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vikramāditya II (BCD)	M, T	MR at the request of Śreṣṭhi	PR of Mūla Saṅgha	Dhavaḷa Δ	---	50 niv	---	---	Δ in ↑	---	SII, XX, BK Series 1988, pp. 7-8
73.	Narwan Pls. of Vikramāditya II (BCD)	---	MR at the request of LC	BR	---	---	■	---	Chindramada	μ	Anivārita Puṇyavallabha ■	EI, XXVII, 1947-48, pp.125-131
74.	Kendur Pls. of Kīrti-varman II (BCD)	M, T, O	MR at the request of (Q)	BR	---	---	■	---	---	μ	ADV, Dhananjaya Puṇyavallabha ■	EI, IX, 1907-08, pp. 200-206
75.	Pattadakal Ins. of Kīrtivarman II (BCD)	M, T, O	MR	PR	---	---	1) 1/2 ■ 2) 30 niv ■■	---	---	μ	ADV, Āryabhaṭṭa Gaṅgādhara ■	EI, III, 1894-95, pp.1-7
76.	Vokkaleri Pls. of Kīrtivarman II (BCD)	M, T	MR at the request of (LC)	BR	---	---	3 ■	---	---	μ	ADV, Dhananjaya Puṇyavallabha ■	IA, VIII, 1879, pp.23-29
77.	Alluvalu Grant of Vijayāditya I (ECV)	O	MR	BR	---	---	■	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB, Bōlama (A) Maramāchārya ■	EA, III, 1974, pp.1-5; EI, XXXVI 1965-66, pp. 300-302
78.	Tenali Pls. of Vijayāditya I (ECV)	O	MR	BR	---	---	■	---	---	---	Īśanavarman (A)	Ibid. pp. 297-300

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XIII
S. No	Inscription/ King / Dyn.	Time	Donor	Types of Donee BR Temple Others		Nature of Grants Land Cash/Rev Others			Location of Grant	Witnesses/ Executors	Reference
79.	CP Grant A Vijayāditya I (ECV)	O	MR	BR	---	8 KH	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB, Bhaurāmaśrī (A)	JAHRS, V, 1930 pp.51-56
80.	CP Grant B	O	MR	BR	---	12 KH	---	---	μ	---	Ibid.
81.	Ederu Pls. of Vijayāditya II (ECV)	O	MR	BR	---	12KH of kōdrava grain	---	---	μ	RTKP, KTB Bōlama (A)	EI, V, 1898-99, 118-142
82.	Varppomgu Pls. of Vijayāditya II (ECV)	O	MR	BR	---	2. Δ	---	---	μ	---	EA, III, 1974, p 5-7
83.	Korraparru Grant of Vijayāditya II	O	MR	24 BRs	---	■	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB, Āchārya	SII, I, 1892, (R) 1987) pp. 31-36
84.	Permajili Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana V	O	MR	BR	---	12 KH paddy	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB Jayarūpa (A)	ARE, 1911-14, pp.85-86
85.	Ahadanakaram Pls. of Viṣṇuvardhana V (ECV)	O	MR	---	---	Inhabitants of Village	■	---	Ⓟ	NV, RTKP, KTB	IA, XIII, 1884, p 185-187
86.	Masulipatnam Pls. of GV. III (ECV)	O	MR	BR	---	■	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB Kaṭṭaya Pāṇḍaraṅga (A)	EI, V, 1898-99, 122-126
87.	Sataluru CP. Of GV. III (ECV)	O	MR at the request of his Brother	100 BRs	---	■	---	---	μ	-do-	JAHRS, V, 1930 pp. 101-116
88.	Chimbuluru Ins. of GV. III (ECV)	O	(Q) of MR	BR	---	■ (Ag)	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB, Vijayāchārya Bhaṭṭa Nirāvadya (A)	EA, III, 1974, p 6-15

S. No	I Inscription/ King / Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee BR	V Temple	VI Others	VII Land	VIII Nature of Grants Cash/Rev	IX Others	X Location of Grant	Witnesses/ Executors	XIII Reference
89.	Kakumranu Ins. of CB. I (ECV)	---	1 MR 2 Merchant	2.86 BRs & Owner	---	1. Merchant	■ Tax free	---	---	μ	RTKP, KTB	EA, III, 1974, pp. 162-168
90.	Moga Grant of CB. I (ECV)	---	MR	---	---	(W) of LC	■	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB Kādeyarāja (A), Konḍāchārya	EA, III, 1974, pp. 28-42
91.	Telugu Academy Pls. of CB. I (ECV)	---	MR	---	---	Female Musician	1.50 KH paddy 2. △, 3. ■ 1000betelnuts	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB Bhaṭṭavarman (C) Kādeyarāja (A)	JBORS, VIII, 1922, pp.83-9
92.	Bezvada Pls. of CB. I (ECV)	---	MR	BR	---	---	■	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB Kādeyarāja (A) Konḍāchārya	EI, V, 1898-99 pp.127-131
93.	Masulipatnam Pls. of Amma I (ECV)	---	MR	---	---	Senādhip ati	■	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB Kātakarāja (A)	Ibid. pp.131- 134
94.	Ederu Pls. of Amma I (ECV)	---	MR	---	---	Warrior	■ 12 hamlets	---	---	μ	NV, KTB,	IA, II, 1873, pp. 175-76; IA XIII, 1884, pp.51-52
95.	Chevuru Pls. of Amma I (ECV)	---	MR	---	---	Warrior	■	Income of 10 Kandus & Tumus of 24 Puṭṭis of ■	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB, Bhaṭṭa Mahākāla Kātakesvara (A)	EI, XXVII, 1947, pp.41-4
96.	Velambarru Grant of Amma I (ECV)	O	MR	BR	---	---	■ (Ag)	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB, Kādeyarāja (A)	EA, III, 1974, pp. 43-46.

S. No	I Inscription/ King / Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee			VII Nature of Grants			X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII References
				BR	V Temple	VI Others	Land	VIII Cash/Rev	IX Others			
97.	Masulipatnam Pls. of CB. II (ECV)	O	MR	BR student	---	---	■	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB	El, V, 1898-99, pp. 134-139
98.	Paganavaram Pls. of CB. II (ECV)	---	MR	BR student	---	---	■	---	---	μ	-do-	IA, XIII, 1884, pp.213-215
99.	Varanaendi Ins. of CB. II (ECV)	---	MR	---	---	LC of Haihaya family	■	---	---	μ	-do-	Bhārati, 1965, pp.24-38
100.	Kolipara Pls. of Arikeśari I (CV)	---	MR	---	---	---	---	---	Sattra	---	---	N.Venkataramanay , CV, 1953, pp. 73- 81.
101.	Maliyampudi Grant of of Amma II (ECV)	M, T, V, O	MR	---	---	SPTD of Δ	■	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB	El, IX, 1907-08, pp 47-56
102.	Vemulavada Pls. of Arikeśari II (CV)	O	MR at the request of Official	---	Sun Δ	---	1) 100 niv 2) 8 niv Puṇiyabhū mi	---	---	φ as ©	Sthānādhipatis of 4 temples, 9 Chandra- śrēṣṭhins and others	N.Venkatramanayy. Op. cit., 1953, pp.8 92
103.	Vemulavada Pls. of Arikeśari II (CV)	S, M, P, T, V	MR	BR	---	---	50 m β	---	---	ψ	---	IAP, Karimnagar Dt A. R. No. 46. 1969, pp.1-5
104.	Kaluchumbarru Grant of Amma II (ECV)	O, N, L	MR at the request of (Q)	Jaina PR	---	---	■ free from taxes	---	---	μ	RTKP, KTB, Bhaṭṭadēva Kātakādhis (A)	El, VII, 1902-03, pp.178-192
105.	Padamkaluru Grant of Amma II (ECV)	M, P, T, V	MR	BR	---	---	■ free from taxes	---	---	⊞	KTB, RTKP, NV, Jonta-charya Kātakarāja (A) Mādhava Bhaṭṭa (C)	IA, VII, 1878, pp.1! 19

S. No	I Inscription/ King / Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee		V Temple	VI Others	VII Nature of Grants Land	VIII Cash/Rev Others	IX	X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII References
				BR	Head of Writing								
106.	Yelavarru Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	M, P, T, V	MR	BR	Head of Writing	---	---	■	---	---	ṁ	KTb, RTKP, NV, Jontā-chārya 𑀧𑀺, Kātakarāja (A) pōtana Bhaṭṭa (C)	IA, XII, 1883, pp.91-95
107.	Masulipatnam Grant of Amma II (ECV)	---	MR	---	---	---	LC of Paṭṭavardhana Family	2 ■	---	---	μ	-do-	IA, VIII, 1879, pp. 73-76, EI, V, 1898, pp. 139-42
108.	Gundugolanu Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	---	MR at the request of (Q) parents	BR	---	---	---	■	---	---	μ	KTb, RTKP, NV, Kondāchārya 𑀧𑀺	IA, XIII, 1884, pp.248-250
109.	A Newly Discovered Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	---	MR	Bīkirāja BR (?)	---	---	---	■ free from taxes	---	---	μ	KTb, RTKP, NV, Jontāch-ārya 𑀧𑀺, Kātakarāja (A)	JAHRS, XX, 1949 50, pp.195-210.
110.	Pamulavaka Cp of Amma II (ECV)	---	MR	Kuchēna BR(?)	---	---	---	■ free from taxes	---	---	Viṣaya	KTb, RTKP, NV	JAHRS, II, 1928, pp. 242-243
111.	Tandikonda Grant of Amma II (ECV)	O	MR	Saivite PR	---	---	---	4 ■	---	---	ṁ	KTb, RTKP, NV, Vidyēśv-ara (C), Kātakanāyaka (A)	EI, XXIII, 1935, pp.161-70; ARE, 1916-17, pp.90-1
112.	Vemalurpadu Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	O	MR at the request of LC	BR minister of LC	---	---	---	2 ■ (Ag)	---	---	ṁ	KTb, RTKP, NV, Bhaṭṭagunḍa (C) Ghanavaṭṭa Bīrōja 𑀧𑀺	EI, XVIII, 1925, pp.227-235
113.	Nammuru Grant of Amma II (ECV)	O, N, L	MR	BR	---	---	---	12 KH of grain	---	---	ṁ	KTb, RTKP, NV,	EI, XII, 1913-14, pp.61-64






























S. No	I Inscription/ King / Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee			VII Nature of Grants			X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII References
				BR	Temple	Others	Land	Cash/Rev	Others			
114.	Parabhani Pls. of Arikeśari III (CV)	S, M, T, V	MR	---	Śubhadhān a  built by Baddega	---		---	---	μ	Peddanabhaṭṭa (C) Rēva (engraver)	N.Venkataraman ayya, Op. cit., 1953, pp. 92-97
115.	Vandram Pls. of Ammā II (ECV)	P, T, V	MR	Amātya & Sāmanta	 built by BR	---	2  free from taxes	---	Share of gold	μ	KTb, RTKP, NV,	EI, IX, 1907-08, pp. 131-135
116.	Mangallu Pls. of Ammā II (ECV)	---	MR at the request of LC	BR	---	---		---	---	μ	KTb, RTKP, NV, MN, PU, SP, YR, 18 ADYK Kātakarāja (A) Pōtanabhaṭṭa (C)	EA, I, 1969, pp. 57-70, EI, XXXI, 1955, pp. 37-44
117.	Kandyam Pls. of Dānarnava (ECV)	---	MR	---	---	2 Princes of MC family	300 	---	---	Vishaya	KTb, RTKP, NV, MN, PU, SP, YR, 18 ADYK Nāgambhaṭṭa (C) Jontāchārya  Kātakarāja (A)	JAHRS, XI, 1938, pp.80-88
118.	Saudatti Ins. of Taila II (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	1.LC 2.LC's Mother	Jaina PR	 built by LC	---	1. 150 m 2. 150 m	---	---		---	SII, XX, BK Series, 1988, pp. 15-17
119.	Nilgund Ins. of Taila II (KC)	S, M, O	LC	BR	---	---	1.30 niv	---	1.Renew al of Gift, 2. 	μ	Kannōjana 	EI, IV, 1896-97, pp.204-208
120.	Hosur Ins. of Taila II (KC)	S, O	1. LC, 2. GV of Siṇḍa Race 3. GV	---	Mūlasthāna deva 	---	1.  2. 	---	---		---	SII, XI, BK Series, 1986, pp. 32-34.

CHART IIIB

PATRONAGE AND NATURE OF GRANTS- PHASE 2 (11TH -12TH CENTURIES AD)

S. No	I Inscription/ King /Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XIII
				BR	Types of Donee Temple	Others	Nature of Grants Land	Cash/Rev Others		Location of Grant	Witnesses/ Executors	References
1.	Yali Sirur Ins. of Satyāśraya (KC)	S,M, T, V, O	MS at the request of 8 GV & 60 Tenants	---	PR 	---	6m	---	---	 in 	---	<i>SII</i> , XI, BK Series, 1986, pp. 39-43
2.	Lakkundi Ins. of Satyāśraya (KC)	S,M, T, V, O	(W) of LP	---	PR 	---	Land	---	---	 in 	---	<i>Ibid.</i> pp.36-38
3.	Hottur Ins. of Satyāśraya (KC)	S	Betel traders	---	---	GV (postumously)	---	---	1 <i>vīsa</i> for each ox		NGV, GV, Māchōja (A)	<i>EI</i> , XVI, 1921-22, pp.73-75.
4.	Kauthem Pls. of Vikramāditya V (KC)	S,T, O	MR	BR	---	---		---	---		RP, VSP, GK, AKT, NKT, ADK, Mahattaras & others	<i>IA</i> , XVI, 1887, pp.15-24
5.	Sudi Ins. of Vikramāditya V (KC)	S,M, T, O	6 GV 8 \$	MJ	---	---	BL to be enjoyed on a pay of 36 <i>vaṇa</i>	---	---		---	<i>EI</i> , XV, 1919-1920, pp.75-77
6.	Alur Ins. of Vikramāditya V (KC)	S,M, T, V	Ūroḍeya, BR	BR	PR 	---	100m	---	---	 in 	MJ, Maruḷōja ()	<i>EI</i> , XVI, 1921-22, pp. 75-77

* Consolidated Key for abbreviations and symbols used in Charts IIIA & IIIB are given at the end of these charts.

S. No	I Inscription/ King/Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee			VII Land	VIII Nature of Grants		IX Others	X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII References
				BR	Temple	Others		Cash/Rev					
8.	Chilukur Ins. of Vikramāditya V (KC)	S, M, P, T, V	MS	PR	△	---	50m 3m ☞	---	---	---	△ in ©	---	EA, II, pp. 50-55
9.	Kotavumachgi Ins. of Vikramāditya V (KC)	S, M, P, T, V, O	DN, BR	BR, 104 MJ	Temples	Ascetics, pupils & others	■ + into several parts	---	---	---	μ	---	EI, XX, 1929-30, pp. 64-70
7.	Ranastipundi Pls. of Vimalāditya (ECV)	M, P, T, V, N, L	MR	BR (Minister)	---	---	2 ■ (Ag)	---	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB, MN, PU, SP, YR, DV, PRD, Adhyakshā, Nripakā ma (A), Bhīmanabha!ṣa (C), Jontāchārya (☞)	EI, VI, 1900-01, pp. 348-361
11.	Korumelli Plates of Rājārāja I (ECV)	P, T, V, O, L, Rasi	MR	BR	---	---	■ as (Ag)	---	---	---	μ	* See S. No. 7, Chētanabha!ṣah (A), Gaṇḍāchāryyah (☞)	IA, XIV, 1885, pp. 48-55
12.	Belur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	S, V, O	500 MJ	---	---	hall (built by LC)	☞	---	---	---	ṁ	Rāmabhadra (☞)	IA, XVIII, 1889, pp. 270-75.
13.	Ron Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	S, M, P, T, V, O	BR	12 BRS,	≡	---	Land for Rest ☞ CF, ☞ of diff. msm	2) 50 gadyas of gold	2) 3 ✓☞	---	≡	---	EI, XIX, 1928, pp. 222-226
14.	Miraj Pls. of Jagadekamalla I	S, M, T, V	MR	BR	---	---	■ as (Ag)	---	---	---	ṁ	Māipayya (☞)	EI, XII, 1913-14, pp. 303-15
15.	Marol Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	S, O	LC (Nolam ba family)	---	△	Basadi	Land	---	---	---	△	---	SII, XI, 1986, pp. 50-51

S. No	I Inscription/ King/Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee			VII Land	VIII Nature of Grants Cash/Rev	IX Others	X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII Reference
				BR	Temple	Others						
24.	Hulgur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	S,T, V, O	GV	---	卐	---	2m	---	---	卐 in ©	MS, PRG	<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 332-337
25.	Sirur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V	3 GVs	12 BRS	---	---	24m pannasa field	12 paṇas quit rent	---	卐	MJ, PRG, Ūrōdeya	<i>EI</i> , XV, 1919-2 pp. 334-336
26.	Mantur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V	MS	---	---	Tank	---	Daṇḍāya tax, 50 gadyāṇas of gold out of tax called pratisiddhāya	---	卐 卐	MJ, Ūrōdeya	<i>JA</i> , XIX, 1890, pp. 161-165
27.	Huli Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	(D) of LP	---	PR 卐	---	6m to be enjoyed on a payoḍ aruvaṇa	---	---	卐	1000 MJ of Pūli	<i>EI</i> , XVIII, 1923 pp. 172-178
28.	Mugad Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V	1. Nār-GV, 2. MS	---	卐	---	Land 3 卐	---	---	卐	---	<i>SII</i> , XI, 1986, pp. 68-72
29.	Kolur Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	1. LP, 2) LP	---	PR 卐	---	BL, RL of diff. msm	---	2) 30 卐s	卐	Basavayya (SB) (卐), Bammōja (A)	<i>EI</i> , XIX, 1924, pp.180-183
30.	Kilaratti Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	(Prince) of KC	---	PR 卐	---	5m BL & RL	---	---	卐	Barmmaṇayya (SB) (卐)	<i>EI</i> , XXXV, 1963 pp.37-39
31.	Arasibidi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, T, V, O	LC (Woman)	Paṇḍit a Nāgad ev	卐	PRK, KKT	GL land of diff. msm	---	---	卐	---	<i>EI</i> , XVII, 1923, pp.121-123

S. No	I Inscription/ King/Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV BR	V Types of Donee		VII Land	VIII Nature of Grants		IX Others	X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII Reference s
					Temple	Others		Cash/Rev					
16.	Heggur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I	S, M, P, T, V, O	MS	---	≡	---	24m	---	---		≡ in 𑀩	---	SII, XI, 1986, pp. 51-52
17.	Kulenur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	S, M, P, T, V, O	(W) of LP	---	≡,	VSG, PRK, KKT	RF of diff. msm.	---		12 𑀩s	≡ in 𑀩	GV, VG, PK, KKT Gurubhaktar Āchārya (𑀅), Demōja (E)	EI, XV, 1919-20, pp. 329-3.
18.	Hosur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	S, M, P, T, V, O	Āycha GV	---	PR ≡	---	Areca-nut garden, 𑀩	---	---	---	≡ in 𑀩	---	SII, XI, 1986, pp. 55-56
19.	Kalidindi Ins. of Rājarāja I (ECV)	P, T, V, O	MR	---	≡	---	3 𑀩	---	---	---	≡	Ādhivasatas, RTKP, KTB, MN, PU, SP, YR, DV, PRD, Kaṭakeśa (A), Bētanabhaṭṭa (C), Guṇḍāchārya (𑀅)	EI, XXIX, 1951-52, pp. 57-71
20.	Pamulavaka Ins. Vijayāditya VII (ECV)	M, P, T	MR	BR?	---	---	13 𑀩	---	---	---	μ	RTKP, KTB, PRD Kaṭakādhīśa (A), Gaukāchārya (𑀅)	JAHS, II, 1928, pp. 277-289
21.	Saidapur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	S, M, T, V, O	Physician, GV	---	Δ	---	Lands in 3 𑀩	Dramma	---	---	Δ in 𑀩, 𑀭	---	EA, VI, 1994, pp. 37-42
22.	Gadag Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	S, M, P, T, V	Ūroḍeya, Śeṭṭi	---	12 𑀭	Merchant	56 m land	---	---	---	𑀭 in 𑀩	---	EI, XIX, 1928-29, pp. 217-222
23.	Hottur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	S, M, P, T, V	---	---	---	---	---	Levy of taxes on betel-leaf	---	---	Vana	GV, SD, PKD, Dāsimayya (SB) (𑀅)	EI, XVI, 1921-22, pp. 75-81

S. No	I Inscription/ King/Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee			VII Land	VIII Nature of Grants Cash/Rev	IX Others	X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII Reference
				BR	Temple	Others						
24.	Hulgur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	S,T, V, O	GV	---	卐	---	2m	---	---	卐 in ©	MS, PRG	<i>Ibid.</i> pp. 332-337
25.	Sirur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V	3 GVs	12 BRS	---	---	24m pannasa field	12 paṇas quit rent	---	卐	MJ, PRG, Ūrōdeya	<i>EI</i> , XV, 1919-20 pp. 334-336
26.	Mantur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V	MS	---	---	Tank	---	Daṇḍāya tax, 50 gadyāṇas of gold out of tax called pratisiddhāya	---	卐 卐	MJ, Ūrōdeya	<i>IA</i> , XIX, 1890, pp. 161-165
27.	Huli Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	(D) of LP	---	PR ≡	---	6m to be enjoyed on a payoḍ aruvaṇa	---	---	≡	1000 MJ of Pūli	<i>EI</i> , XVIII, 1922 pp. 172-178
28.	Mugad Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V	1. Nār-GV, 2. MS	---	≡	---	Land 3 △	---	---	≡	---	<i>SII</i> , XI, 1986, pp. 68-72
29.	Kolur Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	1. LP, 2) LP	---	PR ≡	---	BL, RL of diff. msm	---	2) 30 卐s	≡	Basavayya (SB) (卐), Bammōja (A)	<i>EI</i> , XIX, 1924, pp.180-183
30.	Kilaratti Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	(Prince) of KC	---	PR ≡	---	5m BL & RL	---	---	≡	Barmmaṇayya (SB) (卐)	<i>EI</i> , XXXV, 1961 pp.37-39
31.	Arasibidi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, T, V, O	LC (Woman)	Paṇḍita Nāga dev	≡	PRK, KKT	GL land of diff. msm	---	---	≡	---	<i>EI</i> , XVII, 1923, pp.121-123

S. No	I Inscription/ King/Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee		VII Land	VIII Nature of Grants Cash/Rev	IX Others	X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII Reference
				BR	Temple Others						
32.	Bagevadi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	(W) of MR	---	PR ≡	---	---	---	≡	Billavarasa and others	SII, XI, 1986, pp. 75-76.
33.	Sudi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V	---	---	≡	---	---	---	≡	PRD, Nāḍa PRG, SB, DA,	EI, XV, 1919- 20, pp.77-80
34.	Mallesvaram Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	(Prince) of KC, (Q) of MR of KC	---	PR ≡	2 ■	---	---	≡	---	EI, XXXV, 196 pp.253-260
35.	Nirālgi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	MMD	1. 300 M)	God Kali	Garden of 600 trees, 1m	☞ tax	---	μ (Ag)	SB, Chittōja (A), Jōgivyaya (☞)	EI, XVI, pp.66 68
36.	Nandamapundi Ins. of Rājarāja I (ECV)	P, T, V, O, L, Rasi	MR	BR (Poet)	---	---	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB, MN, PU, SP, YR, DV, PRD Kaṭakādhārājah (A), Nanniyabhaṭṭa (C), Gaṇḍāchāryyah (☞)	EI, IV, 1896- 97, pp.300-30
37.	Mulgund Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,O	MMD	△ PR	---	12m	---	---	△	SVA, M)	EI, XVI, 1920 21, pp. 52-57
38.	Manda Ins. of Rājarāja I (ECV)	P, T, V, O, L	MR	BR	---	RF, Jowar field & Pannasa land of diff. msm	---	---	μ	ADV, RTKP, KTB, PRD, Kaṭakarāja (A), Nanniya Bhaṭṭa (C), Gaṇḍāchāryya (☞)	N. Venkatarat anayya, PC, 1969, pp.439- 446
39.	Kelavadi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,O	Mahāmātya	---	---	TANK	---	---	≡	MS, DN, Chaṭṭapayya (☞) Śaivōja (C)	EI, IV, 1896- 97, pp.259-26
40.	Sanigaram Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, T, V, O	MS	---	≡	12 BL, WL of diff. msm	---	Rāṭaṇa	≡	GV, Raḍḍi	IAP, Karimnagar D Ins.No. 15, pp.38-42.

S. No	I Inscription/ King/Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	V Types of Donee			VII Land	VIII Nature of Grants		IX Others	X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII References
				BR	Temple	Others		Cash/Rev					
41.	Sudi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, T, V, O	Ministers of State	---	---	8 Śeṭṭis + 80 holders	---	---	---	Fiscal arrangem ents for estates and penalties	☉	VRG, PRD, Taṁtrapāla, Karaṇam	SB, EI, XV, 1919-20, pp.80-83
42.	Honwad Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, T, V, O	1) MR at request of (Q), 2) MR at request of KKT, 3) LP	---	1. Basadi b) ≡	---	OL, GL of diff. msm	---	---	☞s, ☞s,	≡	---	IA, XIX, 1890, pp.268-275.
43.	Sudi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, T, V	DN	---	PR ≡	---	☐ + several parts	---	---	---	≡ in ṁ	MS, PK, VG, KKT, Piriyaravāḷa suḷeḡe Śeṭṭis,etc., Rāvapayya (☞)	EI, XV, 1919-20, pp. 85-94
44.	Telugu Academy pls. of Śaktivarmaṇ II (ECV)	P, T, V, N, L, Rasi	MR	BR	---	---	☐ (Ag)	---	---	---	≡ Λ	NV, RTKP, KTB, MN, PU, Sēnāpati, YR, DV, PRD. Kaṭākādhīpati, (A), Nārāyaṇa (C), Ammaya (☞)	JAHRS, V, 1930, pp. 33-49
45.	Marasanhalli Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	LC of Nolamba Pallavas	---	PR ≡	---	☐	---	---	---	≡ in ṁ	---	SII, XX, BK Series, 1988, pp. 45-46
46.	Hottur Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O, N	MS, MMD & (Q) of MR, LP(Woma n)	---	≡	Lady ascetic	4m land	Tax of paṇa & 1/4 collected on ☞s	---	---	≡ in ṁ	GV, PK, VG, Rājavallabha (C), Chandra Bhaṭṭa (☞), Dāsōja (A)	EI, XVI, 1920-21 pp. 81-88























I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XIII	
S. No	Inscription/ King/Dyn.	Time	Donor	Types of BR	Donee Temple Others	Land	Nature of Grants Cash/Rev	Others	Locatio n of Grant	Witnesses/ Executors	Referenc	
47.	Panchalingala Ins. of Someś- vara II (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	(Local person)	---	PR ≡	---	400m	---	---	≡ Nāgachandra-Kaviṇdra (𑀅𑀲)	ET, XXXVI, 1965, pp. 13- 145	
48.	Belgam Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	S,M, T, V, O	BRs	---	≡	---	---	Yearly grant of 5 gadyāṇas from Vaḍḍrāvula	---	≡ DN, Singōja (𑀅𑀲)	IA, I, 1872, 141-142	
49.	Rugi Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	Local person, 50 Telliga tenants	---	≡	---	---	Aruvaṇa	Oil	≡	---	SII, XX, 1981 pp. 48-49
50.	Gawarwad Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	S,M, P, T, V	MMD	---	PR ≡	---	---	Quit-rent of 62 pieces of gold	---	≡	DN, PRG, GV- Chavunda, Śeṭṭis.	ET, XV, 1919- 20, pp. 337- 347
51.	Bichapalli Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	S, M, P, T, V, O	MMD	---	PR ≡	---	■	---	---	≡	---	ET, XXXVI, 1965, pp. 69- 74
52.	Bijapur Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	MS	---	PR ≡	---	300m	---	---	≡	DN	IA, X, 1881, pp. 126-131
53.	Two New Cp. Of Vijayāditya VII (ECV) CP. No. 8	O	MR	BR	---	---	■	---	---	μ	NV, RTKP, KTB, MN, PU, SP, YR, DV Muttaya Bhaṭṭa (C) Paṭṭala (E)	JAHRS, IX, 1934, pp. 24- 35
54.	CP. No. 9	O	MR	BR	---	---	■	---	---	μ	-do-	Ibid.
55.	Nirai Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	S,M, T, O	MR, MMD	300 MJ	---	---	TOWN	---	---	≡	DN, Mahā PRD, PRG, Bichchara Gaṅgayya (𑀅𑀲), Sūdōja (A)	ET, XVI, pp. 6 73

S. No	I Inscription/ King/Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	V Types of Donee			VII Land	VIII Nature of Grants Cash/Rev	IX Others	X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII References
				IV BR	Temple	Others						
56.	Devageri Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	DN, Perjuma ada	---	PR ≡	---	---	Rev. on cotton pods, a toll of vaḍḍarāvula, perjuma etc.	---	≡ in ṁ	MS, PRG	EI, XIX, pp. 183-187
57.	Kallasambi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, P, T, V	MR at the request of BR	---	≡	---	■	---	---	≡	---	CPIAPGM, I, 1962, pp. 74- 87
58.	Hulgur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	SVRG, Talabōg i, House holders Koylalis	---	PR ≡	Damsels New Koylalis, PRK	---	5 paṇa as temple fee & 1 viśa on load of betel- leaves etc.	2 loads of 21 betel- leaves 3 paṇa & 12 maḷave of cotton & garland	≡ in ©	MS	EI, XVI, 1921- 22, pp. 330- 332
59.	Yewur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, T, V, O	MR at request of (SDV)	---	PR ≡	---	250 m BL	---	---	≡	RP, VSP, GK, AKT, NKT, Ādhikārika, Mahattaras, others	EI, XII, pp.269- 291, IA, VIII, 1879, pp.10-21
60.	Chellur Grant of Vīrachōḍa (ECV)	---	BR	---	Ж	---	■	---	---	Ж in μ	NV, RTKP, KTB, MN, PU, SP, YR, DV, 5 PRDs (A), Viddaya Bhaṭṭa (C), Pennāchāri (A)	SII, I, pp. 51- 62
61.	Pithapuram Pls. of Vīrachōḍa (ECV)	O	MR	536 BRS, etc.	---	---	3 ■ (Ag)	---	---	μ	-do-	EI, V, 1898-99, pp.70-96
62.	Lakshmeshwar Ins.of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, P, V, O	DN	△ PR	---	---	A grant in TOWN	---	---	↑	MS	EI, XVI, 1921- 22, pp.58-66

S. No	I Inscription/ King/Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee			VII Land	VIII Nature of Grants		IX Others	X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII Reference:
				BR	Temple	Others		Cash/Rev					
63.	Huli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,O	BR	---	卐	---	Gravel soil of diff. msm	---		---	卐 in 卐	---	EI, XVIII, pp.178-182
64.	Tidgundi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, P, V	MMD	---	---	Sāmanta	12 ■	---		---	卐	Nāyaka, SVA, Nannapai (卐)	EI, III, 1894, pp.306-11, 1A, I,1872, pp.80-4
65.	Sudi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	(Q) of LP	---	PR 卐	---	TOWN	---		---	卐	---	EI, XV, 1919-21 pp. 100-103
66.	Teki Plates of Kulōṭṭuṅga Chōḍa Gaṅga I (ECV)	M, P, T, V, L, N	MR	---	---	Member s of Teliki Family	---	---		Betel in golden vessel	卐 ⊕	See S. No. 7, Viddayabhaṭṭa (A), Pennāchārya (卐)	EI, VI, 1900-01 pp. 334-347.
67.	Kolur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,V	LP	---	---	GV	Religious endowm ent (*lost)	---		---	卐	Mālapayya (卐), Kālōja (E)	EI, XIX, pp. 185 191
68.	Sitabaldi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, P, T, V	DN	---	卐	---	Land of diff. niv	---		---	卐	---	EI, III, 1894, p 304-306
69.	Alur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, P, V	1) MR 2) 200 M)	1) BR	PR 卐	---	■ (Ag), Certain lands	Gadyāṇas of gold		---	卐	VSP, RP, AKT, NKT, Adhikārikas, Mahattaras etc.	IA, VIII, 1879, pp. 21-23
70.	Balagamve Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, T, V, O	6 Śeṭṭis, 2 GV, SB, & 3 others	---	PR 卐	---	---	---		Tiṛuvangaḍi (sacred shop)	卐	---	IA, V, 1876, pp 342-344
71.	Dombal Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	16 Śeṭṭis	---	Bauddha Vihāra	---	1m GL,	6vaṇa and 3 gadyā- nas of gold as tax		---	Bauddha vihāra in 卐	vaḍḍa-vyavahāri	IA, X, 1881, pp 185-190

S. No	I Inscription/ King/Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee			VII Nature of Grants			X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII Reference
				BR	V Temple	VI Others	Land	Cash/Rev	IX Others			
72.	Huli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	LP	1. Teac her	God Harihara, PR 𑀓	GhaissaMalla kramita	WL of diff. msm	---	𑀓	𑀓	1000 MJ of Pūli	EI, XVIII, pp. 182-189
73.	Gadag Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, T, V, O	PR	---	---	Teacher Students of Pra-bhākara doctrine	---	---	Constructed Lecture Hall	Ⓟ	MJ, Mahā PRD, DN, Ūroḍeya	EI, XV, 1919- 20, pp. 348- 364
74.	Ganeshwadi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, T, V, O	CM	---	PR of Brahma Temple	---	500 niv, + 𑀓	---	---	Ж, 𑀓 in 𑀓	Kālidāsa (DN) (𑀓)	EI, XXXVIII, 1970 pp. 289 304
75.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, P, T, V	DN	---	PR 𑀓	---	---	Tax on betel leaf	---	𑀓 in Ⓟ	---	EI, XVI, 1921 22, pp. 31-35
76.	Huli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	PRG	---	𑀓	---	---	1 share in the proceeds of fines	---	𑀓 in Ⓟ	Ūr-ōḍeya, DN, MJ	EI, XVIII, pp.189-196
77.	Bairanipalli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, P, T, V	2 Redḍis	---	𑀓	DN, 2 Karaḥams, 12 Nāyakās	WL, Coconut grove	Rev. from Māvina Rāṭaṇa	5 koḷaga of paddy, 𑀓	𑀓	---	CITD, 1973, p 14-18
78.	Yewur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, T, V, O	PR	---	𑀓	---	RF, GL of diff. msm	---	25 betel leaves on each load	𑀓 in Ⓟ	DN, Nanādēṣi,	EI, XII, 1913- 14, pp.329-3.
79.	Huli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	100 MJ	---	𑀓	---	4m land	---	---	𑀓	MJ	EI, XVIII, pp. 196-199
80.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vikramā- ditya VI (KC)	S,M, P, T, V, O	MMD & his Grand son	---	PR 𑀓	---	TOWN	---	---	𑀓	Rājōja (𑀓)	EI, XVI, 1921 22, pp. 35-44

S. No	I Inscription/ King/Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee			VII Nature of Grants			X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII Referenc
				BR	Temple	Others	Land	Cash/Rev	Others			
81.	Kardugari Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S, T, V, L	MMD & his (Q), Local person	---	☐, Sun Temple	---	RF, GL	☞ tax of village and a Koḍvaṇa	---	☐	---	IA, X, 1881, 249-255
82.	Yewur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S, M, P, T, V, O	Guilds of KKT, Kamc- hagāra, et c.	---	☐	---	---	1/4 gold piece	Lime, ada for each ☞	☐ in ①	---	EI, XII, 1913 14, pp. 332- 333
83.	Sudi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	MS	---	PR ☐	---	1000m	---	---	☐ in ①	---	EI, XV, 1919- 20, pp. 105- 108
84.	Handarki Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S, M, T, V, O	MMD	---	PR ☐	---	3000m + small plots of WL & dry lands, FG etc.	---	Ownership rights of 2 ☐s	☐ in ①	---	APGAS, No. 9 1982
85.	Devageri Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S, M, P, T, V, O	MS	---	PR ☐	---	BL of diff. msm	---	---	☐	DN	EI, XIX, 1926 pp. 191-194.
86.	Nilgunda Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S, M, P, T, V, O	MR at the request of LC	1. 300 BRs, 2. 500 BRs	---	---	☐	---	---	☐	RP, VSP, GK, AKT, NKT, ADK, and others	EI, XII, 1913 14, pp. 142- 155
87.	Gundlapalli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S, M, P, T, O	MS, SVRG	---	☐	---	Land sowable of 2 pu. of vaḷlu	2 rulkas per month	---	☐	VVRG, PSV	EA, IV, 1975, pp. 91-92
88.	Terdal Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S, M, T, V	LP, 60 tenants, SG, KBK, etc.	---	PR ☐	---	GL of diff. msm	---	12 viṣa on betel- nuts & 100 betel leaves, 1sollage on a oil mill, etc.	☐	SMT, all inhabitants (prajegaḷumaṇ)	IA, XIV, 1885 pp. 14-26

S. No	I Inscription/ King/Dyn.	II Time	III Donor	IV Types of Donee			VII Land	VIII Nature of Grants Cash/Rev	IX Others	X Location of Grant	XI Witnesses/ Executors	XIII References
				BR	Temple	Others						
89.	Momigatti Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	S, M, P, T, V	GV	---	PR 	---	Gravel field, RF	---	2  s	 in 	---	<i>EI</i> , XXVII, 1923, pp. 117-120
90.	Devageri Ins. of Someśvara III (KC)	S, M, P, T, V	MS	---	PR 	---	BL, RL of diff. msm	---	---		Śeṭṭis.	<i>EI</i> , XIX, pp. 183- 187.
91.	Chittur Plates Kulōṭṭuṅga Chōḍa-deva II (ECV)	---	Daṇḍādhi nātha	83 BRS	---	---	2 	---	---		See S. No. 7 Paṭlāchārya ()	<i>IA</i> , XIV, 1885, pp. 55-59
92.	Badami Ins. of Jagadekamalla II (KC)	S, M, P, T, V	DN at the request of PRG	---		---	---	Yearly grant of 10 gadyāṇas out of Siddhāya Tax	---	---	---	<i>IA</i> , VI, 1877, pp. 139-142
93.	Huli Ins. of Jagadekamalla II (KC)	S, O	PRG	---	PR 	---	Land enjoyed on a pay of aṭṭuṇa	---	---		1000 MJ of Pūli	<i>EI</i> , XVIII, pp. 172-178
94.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Taila III (KC)	S, M, P, T, V, O	MMD	---	PR 	---	---	Some gadyāṇas of cash	---	 in  	1000 body of Parigrahās	<i>SII</i> , XX, 1988, pp. 160-161
95.	Krivvaka Ins. of Kusumāditya (MC)	---	MR of MC	2 BRS	---	---	 as (Ag)	---	---		MMD, PRG, Kusumāditya (A), Betāchāri ()	<i>EA</i> , II, 1974, pp. 39-49;
96.	Ganapavaram Ins. of Gōkarāja (NC)	P, T, V, O	MR of NC	---		---	---	---	30 cows	 in 	---	K. Suryanarayan, <i>IMCDAP</i> , 1993, p. 122

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XIII
S. No	Inscription/ King/Dyn.	Time	Donor	Types of Donee BR Temple Others	Land	Nature of Grants Cash/Rev	Others	Location of Grant	Witnesses/ Executors	References	
97.	Edarupalli re-issued grant of Viṣṇuvardhana (JC)	M, P, T, N, L	MR of JC	---	☺	---	■ Re-issued	---	☺	NV, RTKP, KTB, DV, KBK, SVN, LHK, TN, RJK, CMK, Vēśya, VNP, Prōlāchāryyena (☺)	Ibid. pp. 60-67
98.	Pithapuram Pillar Ins. of Mallapa Deva II (JC)	M, P, T, N, L	MR of JC	---	Ж	---	■	---	Ж	NV, RTKP, KTB. Kaṭāchārya (☺)	Ibid. pp. 75-80

CONSOLIDATED KEY- CHARTS IIIA & IIIB
ABBREVIATIONS

A	= <i>Ājñapti</i>
ADK	= <i>Adhikārika</i>
ADV	= <i>Ādhivāsinaḥ</i>
ADYK	= <i>Adhyakshā</i>
Ag	= <i>Agrahāra</i>
AKT	= <i>Āyukta</i>
BG	= <i>Bhōgika</i>
BL	= Black Land
BR	= <i>Brāhmaṇa</i>
CF	= Corn Field
CMK	= <i>Charmakāra</i>
DA	= <i>Dharmādhyaaksha</i>
DN	= <i>Danḍanāyaka</i>
DV	= <i>Dauvārika</i>
GB	= <i>Grāma bhōgikas</i>
GK	= <i>Grāmakūtaka</i>
GL	= Garden Land
GMV	= <i>Grāmēyaka</i>
GV	= <i>Grāmavāsinaḥ</i>
GY	= <i>Grāmayukta</i>
K	= <i>Kammas</i>
KBK	= <i>Kumbhakāra</i>
KH	= <i>Khandika</i>
KKT	= <i>Kālkuṭiga</i> (stonemason)
KTB	= <i>KuṭUGhbinās</i>
LC	= Local Chief
LHK	= <i>Lōhakāra</i> (blacksmith)
MHT	= <i>Mahattarās</i>
MMD	= <i>Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara</i>
MN	= <i>Mañtri</i>
MR	= Main Ruler
msm.	= measurement
Niv.	= <i>Nivartanas</i>
NKT	= <i>Niyukta</i>
NV	= <i>Nivāsina</i>
OL	= Ordinary Land

PK	= <i>Parekārgge</i> (drummer)
PKD	= <i>Perjūmkadevaru</i>
PR	= Priest
PRD	= <i>Pradhāna</i>
PRG	= <i>Perggaḍe</i>
PSV	= <i>Peruśuṃka verggaḍa</i>
PU	= <i>Purōhita</i>
pu	= puṭṭis
Q	= Queen
RF	= Rice Field
RJK	= <i>Rajaka</i> (Barber)
RL	= Red Soil Land
RMN	= <i>Rājamanela</i>
RP	= <i>Rāṣṭrapatis</i>
RPu	= <i>Rāja-puruṣa</i>
RS	= <i>Rāja Sāmantas</i>
RSM	= Royal Standard Measure
RTK	= <i>Rāṣṭrakūṭas</i>
RTKP	= <i>Rāṣṭrakūṭa Pramukhas</i>
SB	= <i>Senabōva</i>
SD	= <i>Śuṃkadevaru</i>
SK	= <i>Śrīkaraṇa</i>
SMT	= <i>Sāmantas</i>
SP	= <i>Senāpati</i>
SVA	= <i>Saṇdhivigrahādhikāri</i>
SVN	= <i>Suvarṇāyasa</i> (Goldsmith)
TLV	= <i>Taḷavāra</i>
TN	= <i>Takṣaka</i>
VDRS	= <i>Vaḍḍarāvula Śuṃkaverggaḍe</i>
VG	= <i>Vaṃsigargge</i> (Flute players)
VNP	= <i>Vanapālakaḥ</i>
VRG	= <i>Verggaḍa</i>
VSP	= <i>Viṣayapatis</i>
VV	= <i>Viṣaya vāsinaś</i>
YR	= <i>Yuvarāja</i>

CONSOLIDATED KEY- CHARTS IIIA & IIIB SYMBOLS

卐 = Vaiṣṇava Temple

β = Wet land

卐 = Śiva temple

卐 = *dānasāla*

卐 = Flower garden

卐 = Writer

△ = Fruit trees

卐 = *Maṭha*

卐 = Oil mill

卐 = Revenues

卐 = Taxes

卐 = Jaina temple

△ = House site

卐 = Village

卐 = Field

卐 = Treasures

卐 = House

© = Capital

↑ = Nagara

Ⓟ = Paṭṭaṇa

卐 = ūru

卐 = Paṭṭi

φ = Vāṭaka

卐 = Vāḍa

μ = Grāma

卐 = Pura

CHAPTER V

IDEOLOGY, REGION AND PAN-INDIAN LINKAGES

In this last **Chapter**, our main thrust is on ideological variables **that** cement the regional identities of the Chajukya families with pan-Indian linkages to ultimately formulate how these families defined themselves and their past. The concept of '**ideology**' though predominantly manifested in religion, is never exclusively confined to it. As a leavening substratum it pervades every intellectual and cultural practice of a society.¹ Hence, the concept of ideology in the present study is infused with a much broader definition. In this definition therefore, 'ideology' has been understood as a conscious and artful constructions of "interacting symbols and patterns of inter-working meanings" intended as, Geertz has pointed out, "...to make an autonomous politics possible by providing the authoritative concepts that render it meaningful, the suasive images by means of which it can be readily grasped".² Thus, it is understood that to make the political power stable, conquests, spatial expansion, economic and social control are not the sole factors since the ruling elites also need legitimization through ideology to elevate their status and establish regional and pan-Indian identities. Hence, to analyze this aspect of ideology, we have come back to draw upon those elements in the *prasastis* of inscriptions that was found alongside with the genealogical and politico-military information. These elements reflect on certain well-founded ideological and cultural traits and beliefs as found, on the one hand, in the Vedic and the *Itihasa-Purana* tradition of ancient times and in the local traditions, on the other. In inscriptions, one may notice that the genealogical information, that formed the core of the narrative in the *prasastis*, is most often interwoven with both mythical and historical elements that are both marked on many occasions an eulogistic flavor. Daud AN differentiates that part of the narrative component in *prasastis* that defined the metaphysical notions of the past and its philosophical components based on a Puranic world-view as a "Meta-Narrative"³

that was inextricably linked with the more grounded and locally situated narrative of the rulers and his ancestors politico-military achievements.

To understand the ideological variable in a comprehensive way, we primarily addressed ourselves to the Region's ideological linkages with pan-Indian ideas, beliefs, and systems of thought. These are going to be discussed with particular emphasis on the Chajukyan families. For this purpose, we have classified the data into three broad categories. Under category one, we have Vedic-brahmanic ideas as found in the *srauta-smarta* texts and *itihasa-purana* tradition. These are expressed through firstly, Py the performance of Vedic sacrifices and bestowal of gifts like *hiranyagarbha* that was exclusively given at the time of the conduct of sacrifices or ceremonies and that drew upon primarily the *Śruti* tradition of the early Vedic texts. Secondly, knowledge systems related to *Smrtis* such as Manu *Smrti* sis., or comparisons with the authors of these various literary texts, which the kings claim to have been well versed in. Thirdly, to establish pan-Indian linkages we refer to the various comparisons, which the kings and their ancestors made with Gods and heroes of the *itihasa-purana* tradition to glorify their greatness in terms of physical valor, courage, righteousness, generosity, etc. Under the second category, we have belief systems that are categorized as: (1) the worship of various gods and goddesses belonging to different sects, (2) family beliefs that refer to the boons and favors, which the Chalukyas claim to have received from various Gods and Goddesses and (3) festivals that further accentuated ideological symbols. Under category three, we discuss the tribal/ autochthonous elements and their integration into temple cults. These are important for our comprehension as they reflect on the complex play of how the ideology of the ruling elite was consciously making attempts to dialogue between regional and pan-Indian traditions. This information has been charted out by us and is appended to the end of this Chapter. These different aspects of ideology presented in both inscriptions and texts of the *mahakavya* type direct our attention towards the internal processes that shaped the formal structures of cultural production⁴ at the historical moment when such texts were prepared, drawing upon a well-established pool of conventions, motifs and symbols.³

These had become important to legitimize the authority of the king and also reflect on their sense of a certain past.

II

In the preceding Chapters, we have noted how the political and economic processes of consolidation of power were made possible through the instrument of control as an integrative mechanism. Burton Stein, however, has suggested that administration and control over territory were not the only bases that defined early political structures. He emphasizes that in the concept of "ritual polity" formulated by him that the king at a central "core" manifested the qualities of a universal overlord by linking together 'galactic polities', constellations of small political and economic units. In other words, in this explanation the position of the king developed from the operation of cosmic forces or, from the will and grace of the gods, who supported the royal protectors of righteousness in the material world.⁶ The royal authority of the king was thus, inextricably bound up with the notions of divine power, material prosperity, moral well-being and cosmic regulation.⁷ In short, the king on earth was symbolized and represented as the immanent and microcosmic form of the transcendent, divine macrocosmic Purusa (Cosmic Man).⁸ To attain this status, power and authority the kings or "temporal" authority allied with the *brahmanas*, the human agents of god on earth, and who represented the "spiritual" or "sacred" authority.⁹ This was more prominently noted in the early medieval context during which period, the reciprocal relationship between the "spiritual" and the "temporal" authorities of power had greatly augmented because the latter constantly sought validation to its temporal power from the "spiritual authority", namely the *brahmanas*.¹⁰ It is not only the temporal power that needed 'legitimation' from "spiritual" authority, but the latter too required sustenance from the temporal power. Therefore, the priestly validation of temporal power continued, wherein the *brahmana*, in a situation of reciprocal relationship, continued to prepare *prasastis* for his patron.¹¹ Indian tradition thus, offers a clear and self-evident bipolar pattern, namely, that of *ksatra* and *brahman* or, in terms of their representatives, king and *brahmana*.¹² The relationship between the *brahman* and the *ksatra* is well brought in the

necessity to perform Vedic sacrifices that alludes to events of the past¹³ at one level, and describing the qualities of the king in relation to Gods and puranic and epic heroes, at the other level. According to Heesterman, these provided the channel for assuming the divine or transcendent source of authority¹⁴ that in fact was crucial to show the king as the protector of the people and for maintaining moral order or *dharmā* of the world or even of the whole Universe.¹⁵

The data described below gives references to such Vedic sacrifices as *asvamedha*, *vajapeya*, *paundarikā*, *bahusuvāna*, *agnishtoma*, *agnichayana* and *rajasuya*. The term *asvamedha*, as is well-known was a horse sacrifice, which in Vedic times, kings desirous of offspring performed. However, subsequently, the sacrifice obtained prominence and significance, when it came to be performed by a king to indicate and legitimize his supreme eminence and led him to declare himself as a conqueror and king of kings.¹⁶ Similarly, the term *vajapeya* had special significance and has been understood as one of the seven forms of the Soma sacrifice offered by kings or *brahmanas* aspiring for the highest position.¹⁷ It was initially considered a primitive sacrifice for food [*vaja*] and drink [*peya*], which was later transformed into being a consecration sacrifice for claiming over-lordship.¹⁸ Yet another royal sacrifice was signified by the term *rajasuya*. It is generally understood as 'a great sacrifice performed at the coronation of the king by himself and his tributary kings'.¹⁹ This sacrifice actually follows the conduct of the *vajapeya*, other sacrifices of lesser importance were signified by the term *paundarika* that refers to a kind of Soma sacrifice that lasted for 11 days²⁰ and the term *agnishtoma* that was also one of the seven forms of soma sacrifices. It is actually referred to a protracted ceremony or [*samsthā*] of the *vyotishtoma* offered by 'one who is desirous of obtaining heaven'.²¹ It was so called because in it Agni was praised.²² The term *dgnicayana* was used to denote 'a person who arranged or prepared the sacred or sacrificial fire-place'. Yet another sacrifice that is found mentioned in the inscriptions is *bahusuvāna* that refers to 'a person who gave away much gold'.²³ The conduct of Vedic sacrifices by a king transformed him from human actor to the divine being and thus makes him stand out as the representative of the cosmic power to regulate and hold the universe together. This in the

early medieval context could be achieved by the coherent and harmonious triad of power, priesthood, and authority, which according to Heesterman owed its effectiveness to the sacrificial nexus of the context.^{2<)}

Reference to Vedic sacrifices therefore, should be viewed critically primarily to understand, how the kings in the present context of study, defined their power and authority by linking up their actions to the cosmic level and thereby defining "order" of the universe as something desirable and secondly, how these ideological linkages established reciprocal relationship between the king and the *brahmana*. Information of this sort within the different TYPES of genealogical patterns delineated for the present study, enable us to characterize their importance for the ruling elite and also reflect on how changes and continuities in this regard were manifested in different TYPES.

In the context of TYPE I genealogical data, where we have short pedigrees extending up to three generations, we have come across only one example that refers to the king who actually performed a Vedic sacrifice during his life time (**Chart IVA, 1**). For instance, the Badami²⁵ Cliff inscription of Pulakesi I mentioned him as the performer of an *asvamedha* sacrifice. This event apparently performed by Pulakesi I was perhaps meant to announce the assertion of his sovereign authority. Hence, he is also credited with having founded an independent Chajukyan dynasty. In fact, this event had become such an important landmark in the history of the Chalukyas that it was continuously mentioned in the subsequent inscriptions belonging to his successors. In this regard, we have noted about 20 out of 61 examples that refer to this event (**Chart IVA, 3-6, 9, 14, 16, 17, 19-21, 25, 27, 28, 35-37, 42-44**). Interestingly, six examples from the above-cited references also credit Pulakesi I with the performance of other sacrifices, which his own inscriptions are silent about. In this regard, there are statements of his successors that describe Pulakesi I as the performer of other sacrifices such as *vajapeya*, *paundarika* and *bahusuvama* (**Chart IVA, 2-4, 9, 15, 17**), *^gnishtoma* and *agnichayana* (**Chart IVA, 2-4**) and *rajasuya* sacrifice (**Chart IVA, 15**). Curiously, few of these examples also describe the king as a worshipper at the feet of gods, *brahmanas* and spiritual preceptors (**Chart**

IVA, 2, 3, 9, 17). All these examples just mentioned belonged to the Badami Chajukyan family. On the contrary, in the examples that belonged to the Eastern Chajukyan family a different tradition was observed. Here, Pulakesi I as the performer of various sacrifices as noted above gets replaced with the Chajukyan family as an entity performing such sacrifices. In other words, the individual identity of the king is replaced by the family identity. In this regard, one had come across statements such as *asvamedha-yajinam Chajukyanam kula-jaladhi-samudbhuta* that clearly explains the Chalukyas as the performers of the *asvamedha* sacrifice. This is found in about 34 examples out of 61 **(Chart IVA, 2, 10, 15, 22-24, 26, 29-33, 38-41, 45, 62, 63, 67, 68, 70, 71, 77-86, 95).**

Differences between the Badami Chajukyan and the Eastern Chajukyan family traditions as noted above in TYPE I genealogical pattern is also evident in TYPE II genealogical data. Thus for instance, we have about 25 examples out of 57 from the Badami Chalukyan family that referred to Pulakesi I as the performer of *asvamedha* sacrifice **(Chart IVA, 12, 46-61, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76).** The remaining examples that belonged to the Eastern Chajukyan family, however, refers to the Chajukyias as the performers of the *asvamedha* sacrifice as evident from TYPE I examples belonging to this family **(Chart IVA, 34, 87-94, 96-98, 101, 104-113, 115-117).**

Though reference to *asvamedha* sacrifice continued in information attached to TYPE III genealogies, however, this is found only in the inscriptions pertaining to the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi and the minor Chajukyan family of Jananathapuram **(Chart IVB, 7, 11, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 60, 61, 66, 91, 97, 98).** On the other hand, in the examples belonging to the Western Chajukyias of Kalyani and the minor Chajukyan families of Mudigonda and Nidadavolu, reference to the *asvamedha* sacrifice is completely absent **(Chart IVB, 4, 10, 14, 57, 59, 69, 73, 83, 84, 86, 88, 95, 96).** Likewise, even in TYPE IV genealogies too this absence is prominently noted.

From a closer view of the above category of information, we discern that there is only one example in TYPE I genealogies that mentioned the king as the performer of Vedic sacrifice. In all other examples of TYPE I, II and in some instances of TYPE III, reference to Vedic sacrifices were made in retrospect. Further, it has been envisaged that except for six instances where apart from *asvamedha* other sacrifices such as *rajasuya*, *vajapeya*, *paundarika*, *bahusuvana*, *agnishtoma* etc., were mentioned, in almost all other examples across TYPES, there is reference only to *asvamedha* sacrifice. In the ideological context reference to *asvamedha* is significant because it linked up human action to cosmic level and thereby define order of the universe. This indicates the relevance of Vedic sacrifices to show the king as a conqueror of the enemy who typified "disorder" by continuously referring to *asvamedha* sacrifice. Further, reference to Vedic sacrifices in the present context are also significant because they reflect on one kind of linkage with pan-Indian symbols that implicate on the cosmic and metaphysical relations with human endeavors defined in Indian society. Thus, when Pulakesi I was mentioned as the performer of horse sacrifice (*asvamedha*) in the Badami Cliff inscription, here he was actually being projected as an "absolute" and "transcendent" authority who alone has the power to uproot the evil kings (y.j., the Kadambas) and thus re-establish social order. Such claims in the initial stages of the rise of the kingdom, undoubtedly placed the king on a superior status over his enemy and justified his political sovereign authority sanctioned by the pan-Indian ideology of Vedic sacrifices. Future Chalukyan kings of the Badami Chalukyan family, however, did not perform Vedic sacrifices but nonetheless, took pride in referring to Pulakesi I as a model representing the cosmic and divine authority, thereby emphasizing their succession from a divine source of authority. These claims for absolute, transcendent authority by the later kings is further augmented particularly, at a time when territorial expansion of the kingdom was at its threshold. This is indicated by such "imagined" claims wherein the immediate successors of Pulakesi I also attributed him with the performance of other sacrifices such as *rajasuya*, *vajapeya*, *paundarika*, *bahusuvana*, *agnishtoma* and *agnichayana*, which his own inscriptions are silent about. Reference to these various sacrifices even in retrospect, has become so

significant that in the ideological context, it further entrenched the authority of the present king more firmly by legitimizing his claims for cosmic or transcendental power through reference to the divine actions of his predecessor in the immediate past. In the political context, this power gave the king sufficient leverage to lift himself above the level of competing forces or even to attain a central position among them,²⁶ thus raising one's family to imperial dignity.²⁷

As opposed to the above trend, the scions of the Badami Chajukyas in the Eastern Deccan, however, preferred to substitute the individual identity of Pulakesi I with the family identity of the "Chajukyas" as the performer of numerous *asvamedha* sacrifices. Thus, we envisage that there is a deliberate effort to centralized the notion of the "Chajukyan family" as an impeccable source from which the divine authority of the king emanated, thereby emphasizing on a more distant and "imagined" past than on the immediate past as noticed in the inscriptions of the Badami Chajukyan. This variation noticed within the family traditions of both the Badami and Vengi Chajukyas points out to the attempts made by the latter to maintain its distinct individual identity as it separated from its parent branch, geographically and established its independent rule in an alien locality. Significantly, this stereotyped notion of the "Chajukyas" as the performers of innumerable *asvamedha* sacrifices was found not only in the TYPE I and TYPE II categories of genealogies, in which the mythical genealogies were almost negligible, but was also mentioned in TYPE III genealogies, in which a detailed mythical and semi-historical genealogies were found. This clearly suggests that irrespective of different TYPES of genealogical patterns belonging to the Eastern Chalukyan family, the pan-Indian Vedic sacrifice of *asvamedha* has been popularized because it showed victory of the king over his enemy who create chaos by contesting the supreme and absolute authority of the king.

The king derived this supreme, universal authority from the *brahmana* who as the monopolist of the *Veda*, has become the chief source for affirming the authority²⁸ of the king during the early medieval period, thus underscoring the *brahmana-ksatra* relationship. In the context of TYPE I, some early

examples categorically described the king as a worshipper at the feet of gods, *brahmanas* and spiritual preceptors (**Chart IV A, 2, 3, 9, 17**). This kind of evidence clearly indicates the necessity of the early members of the Chajukyan family to win the favor and support of the powerful *brahmanas*, who as sole custodians of "sacred power" provided legitimization for the infant kingdom. It also reflects on the spread of this ideology through the land grants to *brahmanas* who were its chief articulators. During the initial stages of the formation of Cnalukyan kingdom, the king relied largely on the *brahmanas* for the enactment of certain religious practices of pan-Indian importance like conduct of Vedic sacrifices in order to assert his *ksatriya* or */rsatri/a*-like status. Genealogies were short during Phase 1 under TYPE I and therefore, greater emphasis on other ideological mechanisms such as the Vedic ritual was absolute necessity in order to have a distinct identity. For this purpose therefore, the king maintained good relations with the *brahmanas* by patronizing them with land donations as noticed by us in Chapter V. Thus, both power and authority were enclosed in the network of personal relations at the different levels of state functioning.

On the other hand, in TYPE II of Phase 1, we noted reference to only the *asvamedha* almost eclipsing the importance of other sacrifices like *vajapeya* and *rajasuya*. The latter involved elaborate ritual and basically weighed in favor of the *brahmanas* assertion to authority. The sacrifices of the *asvamedha* was also done by them but was more closely connected with assertion of the *ksatriya* status of the kings. Moreover, in the context of TYPE II genealogies, we have earlier discussed that this was a critical phase when an extended territorial control was achieved through conquests and land grants to *brahmanas*. Reference to *asvamedha* sacrifice, therefore, assumed a greater significance, since kings made use of it to illustrate the diffusion of their power and authority that found its sanction in the sacrificial contest.²⁹ By performing the *asvamedha* the ruling elites claims for *ksatriya* status were realistically recorded and culminated in the *brahmanas* efforts to compose lengthy genealogies for the king in accordance with the *ksatriya* tradition.³⁰ It has been

noted and discussed in Chapter III that TYPE II genealogies substantially increased in length and content.

In Phase 2 of this study, we have TYPE III and TYPE IV genealogies whose character and content is different from the earlier two types. It had been pertinently noted by us that reference to *asvamedha* sacrifice is found only in the inscriptions belonging to the Eastern Deccan under TYPE III. During Phase 2 our discussion in Chapter IV indicated that the eastern Chajukyan polity was on the verge of disintegration. To sustain the stability of the kingdom, the rulers of this family constantly relied on the *brahmanas* for providing ideological validation to their power. This resulted in the fabrication of mythical and semi-historical and puranic and epic genealogies that connected the regional kingdom with the larger pan-Indian traditions. Reference to the *asvamedha* sacrifice in these examples was therefore intended to further highlight the concern for territorial suzerainty and control that was now being put under constant threat. In contrast, in some TYPE III and TYPE IV genealogies that are found in the western Deccan, there is a total absence of the mention of Vedic sacrifices. Further, it has also been noted that in a majority of these examples grants were given to the temples rather than to individual *brahmanas*. As long as the *brahmanas* came to be viewed as a higher authority who could confer validation to the royal power, their superior status was symbolically acknowledged through reference to Vedic sacrifices. However, once the temple emerged as an ideological force for legitimation particularly, in the western Deccan, references to Vedic sacrifices do not find mention. Further, vigorous campaigns by religious teachers like Kumarila and Sankara who carried a tirade against the Vedic rituals³¹ also resulted in the declining reference to Vedic sacrifices during Phase 2. Moreover, most of the inscriptions that contained TYPE IV genealogies were issued by the local chiefs, who found the temple with its local base as the most viable institution for asserting socio-political and ideological identities rather than achieve it only through a patronage of the *brahmanas*. The patronage given to religious establishments, integration with and participation in the temple ritual were utilized by ruling chiefs at the local level to validate their newly acquired power.³²

It is pertinent at this juncture to understand that the Vedic sacrifices acted as one kind of ritual ceremony by which the transcendent and immanent power of the king was repeatedly united with the Cosmic power that maintained the life and order of the cosmos as a whole.³³ However, performance of Vedic sacrifices was not used exclusively in royal installation ceremonies, but sometimes even the Puranic great gifts like *hiranyagarbha* and *tulapurusa dana* that were modeled on the Vedic sacrifices involving lavish donations to *brahmanas*,³⁴ also served the purpose in conferring divine attributes to the king. These complex ritual modes of gift giving also suggest another kind of pan-Indian linkages, which the king often established to augment his social and political image.

Hiranyagarbha or the 'golden embryo' ceremony was believed to be a great gift (*mahadana*) that was performed symbolically on the donor who repeats the mantra to *hiranyagarbha* and says: "formerly I was born from my mother but only as a mortal; now being born of you I shall assume a divine body".³⁵ Thus the divine origin of the king was emphatically articulated by the performance of this ceremony. However, scholars like N. N. Bhattacharya connected this ritual with the primitive concept of death and resurrection, thus marking transition from one stage to another.³⁶ In this regard, he also points out instances where the kings belonging to lower castes had performed this rite to disown their former bodies and assume a new existence and thus claim to be *ksatriyas*.³⁷ In a similar vein, Kesavan Veluthat observed that the kings of the South Indian royal families of the Pandyas, the Pallavas and the Chojas who performed this ceremony were actually doing it to assert their *ksatriya* status.³⁸ Reference to the performance of *hiranyagarbha* in the context of the present study, come to us from the Badami Cliff inscription of Pulakesi I. In this record, the king was mentioned to have performed the *hiranyagarbha*³⁹ (*mahadana*)⁴⁰ (rebirth of the king in a golden vessel) (**Chart IV A, 1**) as an auxiliary to the *asvamedha* sacrifice. This event was also found mentioned in two other examples in TYPE I genealogical accounts (**Chart IVA, 3, 73**). Barring these scattered references in TYPE I genealogies, we do not come across any examples in other TYPES of genealogical information. Mentioning *hiranyagarbha* alongside with

asvamedha sacrifice that has been earlier shown as establishing metaphysical relationship between the king and the cosmos further reinforced the king's assertion for his claims for divine origin and universal authority. Viewed from this perspective therefore, one understands that the reason for Pulakesi I to perform this pan-Indian ritual was to affirm his divine and absolute power that is considered most desirable to establish his political supremacy in the newly founded kingdom, than by claiming only *ksatriya* status. This inference is further buttressed from our observations in Chapter III, where we found that until the 11th century that corresponded to Phase 2 of the present study, there were no serious attempts made by the ruling elites to claim *ksatriya-hood*.

Apart from *hiranyagarbha* ceremony, we also noted in one example reference to *tulapurasadana*. Thus, the Ahadanakaram⁴¹ plates of Visnuvardhana IV of the Eastern Chajukyan family mention the king to have performed several *tulapurusas* (**Chart IV A, 85**). *Tulapurusa* is considered as one of the sixteen great gifts (*mahadanas*) mentioned in the *Puranas*.⁴² This involves a complex gift ritual in which the king or the donor gives away his weight in gold to the guru, priests and other honorable *brahmanas*, the poor and the helpless. This practice of conferring lavish gifts on the priests and the *brahmanas* was also commonly noted among the South Indian royal families⁴³, The *Puranas* mention that whoever performs these rite stays for innumerable years in the world of Visnu.⁴⁴ Thus the performance of *tulapurusa* by the Visnuvardhana IV, at one level indicates how the king wished to connect his human life to the Universal Consciousness⁴⁵ apart from projecting his benevolent donor image.

III

The process through which the pan-Indian linkages are established is complex and varied involving several strategies, which on the one hand, raised the king to the metaphysical level and on the other hand, acted as effective instruments through which the political authority of the king is validated. This

therefore, brings us to the next aspect for discussion, namely, the knowledge from tradition, both *Ērutī* and *Smṛti* as found in the *Vedas*, the *Dharmasastras*, the *Puranas* etc., that can be called the remembered tradition. According to Sheldon Pollock the axiom on which this literary production rested particularly in the classical and the medieval phases seems to be 'that the improvement of any given practice lies, not in the future and the discovery of what has never been known before, but in the past'.⁴⁶ It is in this manner that the 'remembered' past in the form of eternal *Vedas* and *Sastras* are presented as a model of truth and righteousness and hence, is credited with epistemological power that was made authoritative by its age.⁴⁷ Pollock further points out that the "creation" of this knowledge is presented as an exclusive divine activity, and therefore, it occupies a structural cosmological position suggestive of the creation of the material universe as a whole'.⁴⁸

Inscriptional *prasastis* contain several references that project the king as the upholder of *dharmaic* knowledge, as a governor and protector of his subjects in accordance with the laws laid down in the *Dharmasastras*. Such an image was essential to raise his status following the strictures laid out in the pan-Indian legal tradition. Thus, comparisons were drawn between the king and the authors of legal texts, implying clearly that he possessed knowledge based on the *smṛti* tradition and was well-versed in it. In the context of the present study, we have noticed that in TYPE I genealogies, the early rulers of the Chajukyan family were described as having acquired the knowledge in the *Manava*⁴⁹, *Purana*, *Ramayana* and *Bharata-itihāsa*s (**Chart IVA, 4**). Apart from these statements one has noticed that there were also attempts in the *prasastis* of TYPE I, to equate the king with the authors of these various literary texts. In this regard, we had about 6 examples (**Chart IVA, 3, 18, 23, 29, 33, 83**) that do so. For instance, in one example, the king is described as equivalent to Brhaspati⁵⁰ and Usanas⁵¹ (LJ&^ Sukracharya) in intellect (**Chart IVA, 3**). In another, he is said to have acquired the wisdom (**Chart IVA, 18**) and diplomacy of Brhaspati (**Chart IVA, 23, 29**). In yet another example, he was compared with Manu⁵² in possessing courteous behaviour (**Chart IVA, 18**), knowledge and discipline of Manu in two other examples (**Chart IVA, 23, 29**) and in one instance, he was acknowledged in knowing the right course just

as Manu had known (**Chart IVA, 83**). In one instance, the king is described as being refuge of all people who reigned in accordance with the sacred writings composed by Manu and others (**Chart IVA, 33**). Further, like Yudhishthira⁵³ the king in one example is also mentioned as being well conversant with the *dharma* (code of duties) (**Chart IVA, 23**).

Similar descriptions are also found in TYPE II, though these are now found comparatively less than those found in TYPE I. Thus, in the context of the former, we notice only a couple of examples that draw comparison of the king with the teacher of Gods (Guru/ Brhaspati) in possessing wisdom (**Chart IVA, 90, 94**). Both these examples belong roughly to the period between 890 AD to 930 AD. On the other hand, in one example dated to 669 AD, we have noted a simple statement that described the king as well versed in various fields of knowledge (**Chart IVA, 34**). Similarly, in another example dated to 966 AD, the king was mentioned as a learned and just monarch who was proficient in grammar, law, medicine, and devoted to the dispensation of justice. He was further described as skilled in archery and the *gajatantra* (elephantry) (**Chart IVA, 100**). These few examples in TYPE II genealogies indicate the weakening of the use of pan-Indian symbolism in describing the qualities of the king. This has to be seen in the light of a concomitant increase in military and other titles that were a reflection of his actual political authority.

By Phase 2 in TYPE III genealogies, reference to such comparisons is only sporadically found. Thus, we note only one example dated to 1084 AD, in which the king was compared to a pitcher-born sage (Agastya) in absorbing the ocean of sciences (**Chart IVB, 66**). Similarly, even in the context of TYPE IV genealogical data, we have a solitary example, where the king has been compared with the ancient lawmakers. Thus, the Aldr Inscription of Vikramaditya V, dated to 1010 AD describes the king as a crafty as Kautilya and further heralds him with Brhaspati of the Kali Age (**Chart IVB, 6**). However, one significant point of departure noticed in TYPE IV genealogies Of Phase 2, is the rise in examples that compared the local elite with the legendary personages of the past. In this regard, we have one example dated to 1071 AD, where the *Mahamandalesvara* is equated with Chanakya in prudence (**Chart IVB, 50**). In another example, that dated to AD 1074, the

mahasamantadhipati was compared to Brhaspati in respect of his diligent performance of the religious duties (**Chart IVB, 52**). These examples clearly reflect that though pan-Indian symbols of comparing kings with the learned and divine were on the wane, they were not totally absent. In fact, one sees their percolation down the royal hierarchy and continued to be adopted by the local chiefs who had become politically powerful by Phase 2, though it is clear that such comparisons now came to be more selectively adopted.

It was not only kings and local chiefs that adopted these epithets equating them with renowned literary and legal personalities, but this was also emphasized upon by the king in eulogizing his ancestors and predecessors as well. Court poets equated them with the legendary figures associated with developing old knowledge systems in some scattered examples. In the context of TYPE I, we have a single example in which the king's father was eulogized, i.e., the Nerur inscription of Marigalesa dated roughly around 595 AD, equates the king's father (Le[^], Pulakesi I) with Brhaspati in his knowledge of Philosophy (**Chart IVA, 4**). It would be interesting to note that in the records of Pulakesi I himself such comparisons are absent. In TYPE II, though such comparisons with the personalities of the legendary past are largely absent there is one example where the king's ancestor is mentioned as having knowledge in various *sastras* (**Chart IVA, 34**). Similarly, even in TYPE III, we notice a solitary example where the king's father was compared with Manu in character and eminence and Bhargava in wisdom (**Chart IVA, 44**). Interestingly, in this TYPE one has come across an example where the ancestor of a local chief, called a Mandalika, was compared with Brahmadeva in politics. This is noted in the Terdal inscription of Vikramaditya VI dated to 1123 AD (**Chart IVB, 88**).

It may be pointed out at this juncture, that the ethical didactics of the Vedic, Puranic and Sastric texts also provided the foundation for social organization.⁵⁴ Hence, it became an extremely intense process for the ruling elites to assert their authority by offering prescriptions, explanations, meanings and legitimacy to a variety of rights, ranks, privileges ~~eff~~. that bound the hierarchical social relationships together.[^] Ruling elite were raised to an almost superhuman level of ritual authority through these roles.⁵⁵ The conception of

dharma by establishing a bond between man and the gods⁵⁷ had placed **the** power of the king in the cosmic order. Under TYPE I where the genealogies **are** short and simple, there are about 6 examples where the *brahmanas* eulogized the king by comparing him with renowned lawmakers such as Manu, Brhaspati and Usanas and thus projected him as an ideal hero and as the protector of *dharma*, that was part of an encompassing system of moral action with pan-Indian implications. Such comparisons enabled the ruling elites to look for these didactic texts to affirm their divine authority, because these texts by their very nature are considered to be divine in origin that directly emanated from the memory of Brahma.⁵⁸ This further provided political legitimacy to their power and thus claimed to organize their rule according to Hindu law books (*Sastras*). Enforcement of Hindu law and royal orders in the peripheral areas was achieved through the *brahmanas* who were traditionally the custodians of this knowledge.⁵⁹ This was meant to improve the allegiance of subjects towards the king, particularly, during the initial stages of formation of the kingdom. On the other hand, in the context of TYPE II, we found only two examples, indicating their decline. Fewer references in TYPE II genealogies of the use of these symbols implies that a well-entrenched kingdom had now evolved and new mechanisms for legitimation were in place and the need for projecting the king as an authority of law was superfluous. This legitimation was provided through greater descriptive accounts of extended genealogies as noted for **TYPE II** in Chapter III. Even under TYPE III, the declining trend continues indicating to us that when the actual political control was waning, more than asserting the authority of the king through pan-Indian symbols of *dharma* as a crucial mechanism for legitimizing the absolute power, the ruling elite now fabricated genealogies from the *itihasa-purana* tradition of pan-Indian importance as this provided a far more viable validation for their authority. Significantly, the local elite who had emerged to political prominence by Phase 2, were found comparing themselves with the lawmakers like Brhaspati and Kautilya. But in the examples noted for TYPE IV it was the local elite who enhanced status by adopting pan-Indian ideology of the symbols of *dharma* that served **the** purpose of apparently bringing them on par with the main ruling families **and** further validated their authority in local situations. By and large these are found in sporadic instances mainly to project the ancestors as guardians of the

people. However, it reflected the process of selection of the past that **depended** on the present concerns.⁵⁰

IV

It had been observed by scholars like Daud Ali that most of the early medieval *prasastis*, the *kavyas* and the *Carita* literature had a common source, namely, the puranic histories. Local elites thus related themselves to Puranic discourses in general.⁶¹ It has been further pointed out that the bards of the royal court during the early medieval period, quite explicitly looked back to the broader and more universal histories of the *Puranas* to write the genealogies of their patrons and describe their greatness.⁶² In such constructions of the past, therefore, memory was socially constructed. Memory is characterized as a filter of past events that tends to preserve only those images that support the group's present sense of identity.⁶³ Viewed from this perspective, it becomes significant to understand the royal eulogies in the *prasastis* and the literary texts like the *Caritas* as constructs of the memory of the past images that were originally found embedded in the *itihasa-purana* tradition. Apart from this the influence of the *itihasa-purana* traditions was also seen on how analogies were drawn between the epic and puranic characters of the legendary past and the contemporary king as an authority issuing the inscription. Inscriptional **texts of** the early medieval period further reveal that the king was invariably compared to these apparent "role models" that often displayed characteristics, which were super-human, in an attempt to enhance their reputation. These characteristics are further elaborated in terms of the king's military conquests, his diplomacy, discipline, righteousness, generosity, affluence, etc. We shall take examples of each of these characteristics in four different TYPES of genealogies delineated for the present study, to analyze the linkages that were built up between the patrons of the inscriptions in their contemporary historical time and the legendary characters represented in the *itihasa-purana* tradition located in mythic time. In this regard, we have tried to distinguish between the comparisons made with (a) Gods and supernatural beings and (b) heroes of the *Puranas* and the Epics.

To begin with in the context of TYPE I genealogies in Phase 1, where the king is compared with Gods of an imagined past, in order to highlight his distinct qualities such as his military abilities, qualities of rulership, affluence and so on, we have noted 11 examples. In these examples, the king's military prowess is highly eulogized with extremely figurative statements. For instance, in one example the king is equated with Visnu (Cakradhara) who, by his wheel, had put an end to his enemies (**Chart IVA, 26**). In another example, the king is stated to have triumphantly acquired the sovereignty of the entire world, just like Visnu (**Chart IVA, 81**). Yet in another example, he is described as the conqueror of the entire world just like Visnu⁶⁴ who destroyed Madhu by taking three steps (**Chart IVA, 83**). In some instances, he is said to be brave like Akhandja (Indra)⁵⁵ (**Chart IVA, 40**) and hence, it was difficult to assault him (i.e., the king) by his enemies just as it is hard to assail the god Mahendra (Indra) (**Chart IVA, 3**). His valor is further compared with Karttikeya⁶⁶ (Senani), who, by his chivalry, had captured the power of the *Daityas* at the command of his father, Balendu Sekhara (i.e. ^Siva) (**Chart IVA, 31, 78**). In one instance, the king is stated to have severed the foreheads of the elephants of his foes with the sword, which was supposed to be as fierce as Yama's rod⁶⁷ (**Chart IVA, 83**). A few examples draw parallelism between the king and the Sun in displaying the vigorous nature of the king. Thus, in one instance, he has been described as punishing hostile kings with his gleaming lustre like that of the Sun (**Chart IVA, 71**). In another instance, he was supposed to have disposed the crowd of his foes and thus protected his subjects by illumining the path of their existence just as the Sun (dinakara) disperses the mass of darkness by its light (**Chart IVA, 81, 83**). Interestingly, in one instance, the valor of the king has been regarded higher to that of the Gods, where he is stated to have crushed the glory of Narasirpha⁶⁸ caused the power of Mahendra to be dissolved and subdued Isvara by his political power (**Chart IVA, 42**). Through his ability of courage and chivalry, the king is appropriately mentioned in one instance, as having drowned the power of (the wickedness) of the Kali age⁶⁹ in the oceans (**Chart IVA, 72**) and thus emancipated his mind from the contamination of the Kali age (**Chart IVA, 75**). Apart from these instances that exemplified the military prowess of the king, there are nine other examples that refer to the affluence and glory of the king. Thus, in one

instance the king is equated to Vaisravana (Kubera)⁷⁰ in possessing wealth **(Chart IVA, 40)**. In 6 other examples, he was mentioned as possessing all accomplishments like Visnu (Cakradhara) who dwells with the goddesses of fortune (.Sri) **(Chart IVA, 3, 31, 39, 41, 71, 81)**. He was further, glorified like Purana purusa (i.e., Visnu) of the many worlds **(Chart IVA, 38)** and thus said to have rejoiced in his sovereignty just as Visnu in the use of his discus {Cakra} **(Chart IVA, 83)**.

In TYPE II genealogies that also occur in Phase 1, we have similarly noted the same number of examples wherein the king has been glorified for his military prowess by drawing comparisons with various Gods. However, interestingly, we note that in TYPE II examples, there is a conspicuous absence of the names of gods such as Visnu, Yama and Sun (dinakara). Instead, we note that most of the examples refer to the names of Gods like Karttikeya, Parasurama, Mahendra (Indra) and Hara (Siva). Thus, in about 7 instances, we found the king being compared with Karttikeya, in suppressing his enemies, just as the leader of the armies of the Gods had arrested the strength of the Daityas (Tarakasura) at the command of Balendu Sekhara (Siva) **(Chart IVA, 48-54)**. The same examples, also equated the king with Parasurama on account of his being an elephant-goad of kings **(Chart IVA, 48-54)**. In a few other instances, the king is mentioned as resembling Mahendra (Indra) by his might and Hara (Siva) by burning up the cities of his enemies **(Chart IVA, 96, 104-106, 109, 110)**. With regard to other traits like affluence of the king under this TYPE, we have only a single example that compares the king with Visnu due to his association with the goddess of fortune (Laksmi) **(Chart IVA, 51)**, in contrast to seven examples noted in TYPE I that refer to the wealth of the king. In some 8 other examples the king was compared to the hot-rayed sun (Surya) for his great glory **(Chart IVA, 90, 94, 96, 104-106, 109, 110)**.

The tendency of drawing analogies with Gods, to highlight the valor of the king continued in TYPE III genealogies during Phase 2, though the number of such examples considerably declined compared to the earlier TYPES. Thus, in TYPE III, we have only one instance where the king's military prowess was

exalted by equating him with Rama (Parasurama) in the skillful use of the **axe (Chart IVB, 7)**. In 2 other examples, the king is compared with the God Siva (**Chart IVB, 69, 69**).

On the other hand, in TYPE IV genealogies, one can pertinently notice a major shift in these descriptions. In this TYPE, we have observed that more than the king it is the local potentates who was often eulogized by drawing comparisons with the Gods. Thus, for instance, in one example a *Mahamandalesvam* was described as assuming the boar's body (Varaha) when adversaries had ruled the world (**Chart IVB, 64**). He was further, compared to Garuda in battle in two other instances (**Chart IVB, 6, 50**). He was also described as establishing his might upon the massive summits of the Lord of the mountains, the Himavat (**Chart IVB, 89**). In another example, the king's younger brother was described as the Lord of Gods (Indra), peerless in strength in arm (**Chart IVB, 62**). In the same example, he was also compared to Mahesvara (Great Lord) among warriors, and Trinetra (6iva) in the fray (**Chart IVB, 62**). In another instance, a local potentate is described as valiant as Asanda (Visnu) and further considered as the very incarnation of Virabhadra and Parasurama with their arrows (**Chart IVB, 29**). Further, to highlight the virtuous qualities we also noted a couple of examples, where the king is designated as an incarnate of Narayana (**Chart IVB, 65**) and hence is considered unique among the Celestials (Indra) in magnificence (**Chart IVB, 75**). Interestingly, even the local chiefs made similar attempts to compare themselves with Gods to highlight their virtuous qualities and affluence. Thus, for instance, in one instance, the *Mahamandalesvara* was mentioned to have surpassed Jhampalacharya in the possession of bountiful wealth (**Chart IVB, 89**). In some other examples, he was described as Mahesvara among the nobles (**Chart IVB, 50**), and a Narayana incarnate (**Chart IVB, 89**). Similarly, in another example we have noted that the *Mahasamantadhipati* or the General was equated with the Gods of the mythical past. Thus for instance, in one example he is equated with Balin and Indra in possessing virtuous qualities (**Chart IVB, 62**).

While all the above descriptions pertain to the glories of the contemporary king, we also have a few examples, where the king's immediate ancestors have been similarly eulogized by drawing comparisons with the Gods. But, interestingly in TYPE I while the examples referring to the valor of the ancestors is absent, that of the other virtuous qualities and affluence was noted in only one example. Thus for instance, the Mahakuta inscription of Marigalesa compares the king's great grandfather to the god Maghavan (Indra) in possessing of virtuous qualities (**Chart IVA, 3**). The same example further compares the king's father to Vasudeva in possessing virtuous qualities and god Vaisravana (Kubera) in affluence (**Chart IVA, 3**).

On the other hand, in the context of TYPE II genealogies, we have noted 15 examples that refer to the greatness of the king's ancestors by drawing such analogies. In one instance, the king's predecessor was equated to Indra in acquisition of three powers (**Chart IVA, 12**). Few other examples compare the ancestor of the king with Indra particularly, in subduing the mighty powers. Further, he was also equated with Tarakarati (i.e., Karttikeya) who, at the command of his father Balendu Sekhara (i.e., Siva), arrested the power of the demons (**Chart IVA, 55-60, 64-66, 69, 73, 74, 76**). In another example, the king's predecessor was compared to Visnu in his dwarf incarnation (Vamanavatar) who conquered the demon Bali by taking one stride and thus protected the earth (**Chart IVA, 104**). The same example also describes the king's father as having surpassed the God Dhanada (Kubera) (**Chart IVA, 104**).

Interestingly, for TYPE III genealogies, we note that more than the king it is his predecessors who were eulogized by comparing their strength with the Gods. In this regard, we found about 7 examples in contrast to just 1 example where the king had been eulogized. Thus, in a couple of examples, we have noted that Pulakesi I, who was the founder of the first Chalukyan family, was equated with the destroyer of the demon Kesi (Visnu) (**Chart IVB, 59, 69**). In another, the king's father was mentioned as a victor among the kings. In this context, he was equated to the thousand-armed (LṣṢ, Siva or Kartaviryarjuna)

(Chart IVB, 10). Further, there are also a couple of examples that mention him as having surpassed Hari (Visnu/ Narayana) in valor **(Chart IVB, 10, 44).** In two other examples, the king's father is described as the most eminent Of the great warrior caste and who resembled the king of the gods, namely, **Indra (Chart IVB, 60, 61).** In one instance, the king's immediate predecessor, who was his half-brother was compared with Indra in his valor **(Chart IVB, 7).** On the other hand, in TYPE III genealogies of Phase 2, we found a couple examples that described the king's grandfather as having surpassed the moon (Candra) by his pure splendor, Puramdara (Indra) by his possessions and Visnu the bearer of Laksmi by his great prosperity, **(Chart IVB, 60, 61).** In contrast, such descriptions pertaining to the ancestors are found conspicuously absent in TYPE IV genealogies both with regard to the main ruling family of the Kalyani Chajukyasa and to the local ruling elite.

From the above descriptions, we have pertinently envisaged that the kings often have drawn comparisons chiefly with Visnu or Purana Purusa who was represented as the macrocosmic symbol of unity and order and of power, prosperity and well-being for the cosmos as a whole. This has great significance for the king too, since these comparisons were intended to project him as the symbol of his kingdom's unity, order and prosperity.⁷¹ Indra's reference as the king of Gods and the guardian of the world further illustrate the king's divine powers. Further, reference to Siva and Karttikeya who are represented as the destroyers of demons alludes to the fact that the king just as these Gods destroyed his enemies who are compared to the demons. Reference to Kaliyuga in these examples is also important, since in the *Pwanas* it is represented by an age when the righteousness declines and calamities, diseases, fatigue, faults, such as anger, distress, hunger and fear prevailed.⁷² Therefore, king as the up-rooter of the evils of Kaliage makes it an interesting reference as it illustrates his divine powers especially in restoring the order in the calamity-stricken society, which does not have a right king.

Thus, the above discussions indicate the necessity to draw parallels with mythic and divine figures essentially to emphasize on the valor of the ruling elite to restore order especially since military conquests were vigorously being

carried out during Phase 1 when TYPE I and TYPE II genealogies were **being** predominantly written. Thus, we noted relatively more examples in TYPES I and II. This clearly indicates to us that when the kings were in the process of asserting their political authority especially in the initial stages of their rise it had become absolutely necessary for them to enhance their divine like qualities. On the other hand, in Phase 2, less examples under TYPE III when the kings were getting their genealogies with lengthy lists of mythical and epic and puranic ancestors being written, suggests to us that the concern now appears to have been more on highlighting the achievements of the predecessors than on the projecting the king as a supernatural being endowed with martial qualities. This also suggests that now importance was given to the fabrication of a powerful past particularly, since contemporary political conditions were becoming weak with concomitant rise of the local chiefs. Therefore, the rise of local elite during this phase and attempts by them to equate their martial prowess with similar qualities of Gods, suggests that now social groups at the local level, to distance themselves from their original roots began to claim pan-Indian symbols for legitimizing their present. In fact, this entire exercise of comparing the local king or chief and his ancestors with the Gods, manifests a concern meant to deify the king of the main ruling family so that the individual heroism and praise of ancestors would find them a place in the large political framework of the times as important elements capable of heroic and courageous deeds. Such comparisons of the king and his family with Gods can be discerned as ideological mechanisms that enhanced their greatness due to military conquests but, simultaneously distanced them from their enemies who were represented as the opposite of Gods, namely, Demons and therefore, upholders of evil. This was found essential for asserting political authority on a longer-term basis than merely acquiring it.

Besides drawing comparisons with Gods that illustrated the physical **and** virtuous qualities of the king and his ancestors, we also come across examples that extolled the qualities like courage, benevolence, etc. of the king **and his** ancestors, by often comparing them with the legendary Puranic and the Epic

heroes. In this regard, we have identified certain key characteristics such as courage, righteousness, generosity, affection and other deeds that can be exemplified through references in the genealogies of the Chajukyan ruling elites. We shall illustrate each of these characteristics to discern changes and continuities as manifested in each of the TYPES, delineated for the present study.

We begin our descriptions primarily by illustrating the qualities of courage and valor that the king was supposed to have possessed on equal basis with the puranic and epic heroes. Projecting the prowess of the king was essential to show that their ruler was none less greater than the equally great heroes of the past who had protected their subjects. In this regard, in the context of TYPE I genealogies in Phase 1, we have 8 examples that refer to the king as courageous. Thus, he is compared to Bhima⁷³ (Dharmanuja or Kaunteya) who exhibited tremendous courage (**Chart IVA, 83**) in severing the hands of wicked Dussasana (**Chart IVA, 78, 81**). He is also characterized as Vrkodara (i.e., Bhima) for his impetuosity (**Chart IVA, 75**) and is said to have possessed all virtues of courage like him, i.e., Bhima (**Chart IVA, 31**). In one instance, he is mentioned as having been assisted by terrible and splendid courage just as Yudhisthira was assisted by the courage of Bhima and Arjuna (**Chart IVA, 83**). In other examples, the king is equated to Partha⁷⁴ (Arjuna) in his puissance. It is further stated that the Creator (Brahma) had placed him and Bibhatsu (Arjuna) for the purpose of eradicating the pride of men who lived by the profession of arms i.e., *ksathyas* (**Chart IVA, 7**). He is further stated to have possessed the manliness of Arjuna, who had surpassed other kings by his valor (**Chart IVA, 29**). In yet another instance, the king is compared to Rama, who is supposed to have never been conquered (**Chart IVA, 38**). In contrast for TYPE II genealogies in Phase 1, we have only a single example in which the king is equated with Arjuna for possessing terrible prowess (**Chart IVA, 105**). This however, does not imply that the tendency of comparing kings with the epic heroes had totally disappeared. In fact, for TYPE III genealogies in Phase 2, where we have two instances in which the king's courage is extolled, not only with reference to Bhima and Arjuna with whom

comparisons were often drawn in TYPE I, but they are now also made with Manmadha, Surya, Bhargava and so on. Thus for instance, in one example the king is compared with Cupid (Manmadha) among heroes who had put an end to war (*Vigraha*) by destroying his enemies as the sun (Surya) destroys darkness (**Chart IVB, 7**). In yet another example, the king is equated with Bhargava in splitting hosts of his enemies (**Chart IVB, 66**). He was further equated with the son of wind (Bhima) in prowess and with Ramabhadra in archery (**Chart IVB, 66**). Interestingly, in this TYPE one has come across an example dated in 1123-24 AD, where the local chief was compared with Arjuna in possessing blameless heroism and further praised as Rama for possessing firm determination (**Chart IVB, 88**). This tendency of drawing comparisons between the local chief and the puranic and epic heroes is further augmented in TYPE IV genealogies of Phase 2. In this context, we have come across 3 examples (**Chart IVB, 29, 50, 62**). In two examples, the *mahasamantadhipati* was equated with Vrkodara (Bhima) among warriors (**Chart IVB, 50, 62**), Partha (Arjuna) with the bow (**Chart IVB, 50**), who shattered the troops of the Kuru race (**Chart IVB, 62**). Interestingly, the same example describes the king's younger brother (Vira-Nolamba Pallava Permanadi Jayasimha-deva) as equal to the king of Aiiga (*viz.*, Karna) in subduing the fiery elephants (**Chart IVB, 62**). It may be noted here that even though Karna in the epic *Mahabharata* fought on the side of the Kauravas, whom the Pandavas had defeated, comparison with him was only to highlight his heroic qualities. In another instance, a local potentate is described as Dronacharya of the Kali age and Anjaneya (Hanuman) in shattering mountain-fastnesses (**Chart IVB, 29**). In still another a *mahamandalesvara* was compared with Rama in intrepidity (**Chart IVB, 89**).

Curiously, we find that while in TYPES I and IV there is no reference to the comparison of the king's ancestor's valor with the epic and the puranic heroes. In TYPES II and III we have a few examples in both. Thus, for instance, in an example dated to 966 AD of TYPE II, the king's ancestor is compared with that of Bhima for having achieved victories in the battlefield (**Chart IVA, 114**). Similarly, in the context of TYPE III genealogies, we have three

examples. In one instance, the King's father was equated with Rama with the bow, whose fame endured as long as the moon, the sun and the stars would last (Chart IVB, 10). In two other examples, the king's grandfather was supposed to have surpassed Bhima by his terrible power (Chart **IVB**, 60, 61). From these latter examples one may discern that the need to project the glorious past of the king's family was accentuated only during the last half of 10th and the 11th centuries AD.

Another important quality through which the king and his ancestors were often portrayed by drawing comparisons with epic heroes was with reference to the righteousness of the king. In this regard, in TYPE I genealogies, we have 4 examples that describe the king's well mannerisms. These are displayed by comparing him with Yudhisthira who was known to be faithful in keeping his promises (Chart IVA, 3), who was righteous and pure (**Chart IVA**, 29, 81) and who possessed character and wisdom (Chart IVA, 31). On the other hand, in TYPE II, we have only one instance where the king is stated to have being good and virtuous like Bharata⁷⁵ (Chart IVA, 51). However, curiously, under TYPE III, such comparisons are totally absent. This may be perhaps, due to the fact that the kings during this period were more worried about retaining the reputation of the family through projecting their strength while seeking other mechanisms to render legitimation for their declining political authority. Nonetheless, in Phase 2, we note six examples in TYPE IV genealogies, where a local potentate is glorified and one example in which a king is compared to the puranic and the epic heroes. In the case of the former, we have one example where the local chieftain has been mentioned as Dharma's son in righteousness, Radha's son (Kama) in truthfulness (Chart **IVB**, 64). In other instances, the *mahasamantadhipati* was compared with Anjaneya (Hanuman) in purity and merit who had rendered faithful service to Rama (i.e., the king) (Chart IVB, 43, 52). In a couple of instances, the *mahasamantadhipati* was also equated with Yudhisthira in righteousness (Chart **IVB**, 52, 75). In yet another example, the *mahamandalesvara* was described as a Mandhata among mortals who was renowned in fame (Chart IVB, 50). In one instance, the *mahasamantadhipati* has described the king with Radheya (Kama) in truthfulness (Chart IVB, 43). However, examples illustrating the righteous

conduct of the king's ancestor has been found only in one example belonging to TYPE III genealogies. Thus, for instance, the Telugu Academy plates of Saktivarman II, have described his father as equal to Dharmaja (Yudhisthira) in truthfulness (**Chart IVB, 44**).

Besides valor and righteousness, one also has come across examples in different TYPE of genealogies in which the king has been extolled for his **act** of generosity and gift-giving a quality that comes in for praise in the *prasastis*. Showering such praise on the king's bounty by the court poet was clearly meant to seek material benefits from the patron. In the context of TYPE I genealogies, we noted six examples in which the king was found compared with the epic and puranic heroes to exemplify his benevolent nature. Thus, while in one instance, we notice the king being compared to Karna⁷⁶, the son of the Sun god, who took delight in charity (**Chart IVA, 74**), in another instance, he was described to be as liberal as Sibi⁷⁷, the son of Usinara (**Chart IVA, 3**). In another example, we note that he was equated with Kamadhenu⁷⁸ ^{the cow} of plenty, in liberality (**Chart IVA, 18**). Similarly, he was also likened to Airavata⁷⁹ (Indra's elephant) in his acts of excessive and liberal donations (*dana*) (**Chart IVA, 23, 26, 31**). On the other hand, in TYPE II, we have come across only one example in which the king was likened to Kamadhenu, the cow of plenty to the twice-born and holy men and the poor and the blind and to his own relations (**Chart IVA, 105**). Similarly, in the context of TYPE III genealogies in Phase 2 we also come across only one example in which it is not the king, but the local chief who was praised. This is in the Terdal inscription of Vikramaditya VI dated to 1123-1124 AD, which equates the local chief with Kama in reputation and for fulfillment of promises (**Chart IVB, 88**). However, this quality of generosity does not find place in the inscriptions belonging to TYPE IV genealogies. Further, we have noticed that such examples with reference to ancestors of the king are absent in all the TYPES except in TYPE II genealogies, where in one instance it was found that the king's father is compared to Kanina (Kama) who repeatedly gave away wealth for religious purposes (**Chart IVA, 104**).

Besides all these descriptions of king's personality, we also have some examples, where his affectionate disposition has also been glorified through comparisons drawn from the *purana* tradition. In this regard, we notice in **TYPE I** 6 examples. In one example, the king was equaled to Drona⁸⁰ in his abounding tenderness and compassion (**Chart IVA, 26**). Further, in another example, he is described as the lover of the host of living beings and is friendly like Kamadeva or Manmadha (**Chart IVA, 38**). In yet another instance, he was compared to Rama, the son of Dasaratha, who gave pleasure to Sita (**Chart IVA, 83**). In a couple of instances, he is stated to have been as profound as the ocean (Sagara or Jananidhir) (**Chart IVA, 3, 31**). In one example, these qualities of the king, made him earn admiration from his subjects just as the Lokapala (Kubera, also one of the Guardians of eight directions) had been admired (**Chart IVA, 38**). In one instance, it is stated that he became the promoter of the 'race' of the Chalukyas like the very Raghu⁸¹ who promoted the race of the Ikshvaks (**Chart IVA, 75**). In the context of **TYPE II** genealogies we note 7 examples where the king was compared with Bharata on account of being the refuge of kings and with Yudhishthira on account of his excessive affection (**Chart IVA, 48-54**). However, in the context of **TYPE III** genealogies in Phase 2, we find only a single example where the king is praised as an equal to Sahadeva, the son of the Adhvaryus of the gods (i.e., the Asvins) for pleasing the gods and priests (**Chart IVB, 7**). Such descriptions extolling the king for his affectionate disposition are found totally absent in **TYPE IV** genealogies. Similarly, we also do not come across any examples that glorify the ancestors of the king in this respect.

The royal eulogies in inscriptions, further describe that the king by possessing all those qualities described above became famous like such epic and puranic personages as Mandhata, Nala, Naga and others. Therefore, references to these personages are also noted in different **TYPES** of genealogies. In **TYPE I** genealogies during Phase 1, we have about 6 examples in which the king's deeds were highly extolled. Thus, it was found that in one example, the king is stated to have become famous like Mandhata^{ft?} (**Chart**

IVA, 3) and Prthu⁸³ (**Chart IVA, 18**) and who was endowed with tremendous endurance (**Chart IVA, 3**). In another example, the king is said to have acquired the fame just like Nrga, Nahusa, Dili pa, Sagara⁸⁴, Bhagirgtha and others who had achieved fame by their deeds (**Chart IVA, 15**). In one example the king is stated to have surpassed by his deeds Nrga⁸⁵, Nala⁸⁵, Nahusa⁸⁷, Ambarisa⁸⁸ and Yayati⁸⁹ (**Chart IVA, 83**). In TYPE II, we note 3 examples which the king is compared only to Prthu for his endurance (**Chart IVA, 87, 90, 94**). Significantly, such references are found absent in TYPE III while in TYPE IV genealogies of Phase 2, we discern one example where the king was equated to Nala in possessing kingly qualities and other primeval kings like Nrga, Nala, Nahusa etc. (**Chart IVB, 62**). It further states that the king's younger brother (Vira Nolamba Pallava Permanadi Jayasimhadeva), was the crest-gem to the Chalukya family because he followed the course of the series of primitive kings such as Nala, Nahusa and Nrga (**Chart IVB, 62**).

The above descriptions clearly testify that the ruling elites heavily relied on pan-Indian symbols drawn from epics and *Puranas* to explicate their qualities that made them on par with the heroes of the pan-India tradition. In fact, reference to Bhima and Arjuna who were glorified for their extraordinary courage and valor, in the epic *Mahabharata*, became role models for the later kings to be equated with, in order to highlight their courage in exterminating the evil forces. This was very clear from the Phase 1, when the kings were seriously engaged in expanding the kingdom through military conquests. Similarly it was also important for the king to show his other attributes that were drawn chiefly from the Puranic heroes such as Prthu, Nala, Nrga, Ambarisa, Mandhatr, Sibi and others who in the *Puranas* were described as great kings and who sacrificed everything for the well-being of their subjects. Hence, the stories of these great kings and heroes of ancient Indian tradition largely popularized through oral tradition and rooted in the social memory have become basis for the court poets to further enhance the image of the king to entail great respect for him from his subjects.

In the light the above nature of evidence, one could clearly discern that when the political authority was in the incipient stages of development at the local level there was often a tendency to link up with pan-Indian images in order to enhance the image of the military and political achievements of the family when in fact, they were rather limited. This explains the prolific references to the comparisons of the king with the epic and puranic heroes in TYPE I where the genealogies were short and simple as the family of the early Chajukyas had first begun to emerge. To draw on Pan-Indian linkages at this time was a necessity to establish effective moral and political authority. A similar tendency but for a later period is seen to emerge with regard to the local chiefs who had come to political prominence during Phase 2 but had not been so easily accepted as authoritative in the particular localities. Thus in TYPE IV too there were short genealogies, almost replicating a model found in TYPE I except that now they referred to local chiefs rather than kings of the main ruling families. Comparatively less number of examples in TYPE II and TYPE III examples, that extolled the various qualities of the king delineated above may be something to do with the enhancement of historical and mythical genealogies in TYPES II and III. A greater stability during the latter half of Phase 1 meant that drawing on the immediate historical past was enough for the kings under TYPE II rather than making exaggerated claims to comparisons with legendary heroes. On the other hand, we have noted in Chapter III, how mythical genealogies were incorporated to connect the ruling elites to pan-Indian traditions that was necessary in TYPE III to solidify their new socio-political identity especially at the time when the political authority of the king seemed to be weakening at the beginning of Phase 2.

The historical context in which these royal eulogies in the inscriptions were produced under different TYPES of genealogies reflect a clear tendency to refer to past culture that was based on an unflinching belief in a pan-Indian tradition. Here tradition is used to "represent and (re-present) the past" because tradition was invariably treated to fulfil its legitimizing function by referring to the past that was rooted in the cosmic notions of time, which by its very definition was final and immutable, and therefore, seemed to offer a fixed yard-stick to the shifting present.⁹⁰ Hence, the court poets often relied on tradition as also exemplified in the above descriptions to provide legitimation to their patrons. In fact, B. D. Chattopadhyaya rightly observes that this entire

exercise of drawing analogies between the king and the heroes of the epic and puranic tradition manifests a mode for constructing a certain cultural pattern, which was viewed as intrinsically superior. Moreover, the way these analogies were used in different TYPES of genealogies in the present study informs us, the different ways in which the material and social history⁹¹ shaped cultural productions during the early medieval context. Further, by highlighting certain qualities of the king and his ancestors, and the selective process adopted in drawing comparisons with the personages of the tradition, the court poet was careful to adopt a cautious approach to highlight only those aspects of the ancient text that also legitimized the past. The legitimized past, was not the historical past, as Chattopadhyaya points out, but an idealized past, which was then presented as a panacea for the tensions of the present.⁹² For instance, though there is an overall lack of examples comparing the king to epic and puranic heroes in TYPE III genealogies, we nonetheless find several analogies that project the valor of the king and his ancestors than any of his other qualities. In this context therefore, memory played a socially constructive role. Halbwachs aptly characterizes memory as a filter of past events that tends to preserve only those images that support the group's present sense of identity.⁹³ Hence, we find that court poets under the Chajukyan kings often took recourse to memory of tradition as the representation of the past and used it as a legitimizing mechanism for the present.⁹⁴ In doing so, they were also actually linking up the present time of the king with the cosmic time of Gods and Puranic heroes and the smaller locality where the king operate his power with the larger space of pan-India. Thus, these distinctive enunciative codes of pan-Indian symbols in our view, also signify the discursive practices that have become the dominant modes for organizing and recognizing political and social structures.

VI

While the pan-Indian symbols of Vedic sacrifices, knowledge system and analogies with Gods and the Epic and Puranic heroes provided one dimension through which the king was able to enhance his divine and cosmic attributes, proclamation of his religious affiliation with a particular religion or deity provided another important dimension through which he could simultaneously

emphasize upon his divinity. In fact, this is even more significant in the then contemporary situation, since religion played a larger ideological role in society particularly, in acting as a cultural, ideological referent and as a cementing force in bringing forth the complexity of social, economic and political relations of individuals in a small locality together during different historical times. Further, it also provides the individuals and groups to seek their social, as well as religious identities. This is particularly relevant to the ruling groups who have been trying to raise their social and political status and assert their authority in a society. Hence, the role of religion as an authority conferring legitimacy to particular structures of power underlies its ideological purpose⁹⁵ and therefore, the necessity for the individual or the group to affiliate to and patronize a particular religious faith. This further, enabled the ruling elite to have formidable position in a locality and thus effectively control the society through ideology.

The early medieval period saw a great spurt in strengthening the Puranic religion based on theistic worship, which led to the simultaneous growth of multifarious sectarian strands like Saivism and Vaisnavism. An important feature of religious ideology during this period was the pervasive influence of Tantrism that penetrated into all religious systems such as Saivism, Vaisnavism Buddhism and Jainism. Tantrism encouraged the assimilation of local cults, which according to B. D. Chattopadhyaya led to "the formation of a structure, which combined heterogeneous beliefs and rituals into a whole even while making (or transforming) specific elements dominant".⁹⁶ Another dimension of the historical process of religious development during this period was the spread of Sakti that had also come under the influence of Tantrism. In fact, Chattopadhyaya rightly observes that these major pan-Indian religious faiths with a composition of major divinities like Siva, Visnu and Uma that derived from the merger of diverse elements of a cult have, indeed, become significant particularly, in the context of the shaping of regional society and culture and hence, have become the recognizable symbols of the region.⁹⁷

An important aspect of these new religious sects was that they were entrenched themselves in the concept of *bhakti*. The ascendancy of *bhakti* ideology acted as a governing principle in establishing the spirit of loyalty and

devotion towards the king, suggesting clearly a hierarchy of domination and subordination.⁹⁸ The main locus of *bhakti* ideology was rooted in the institution of the temple. This led to the patronage extended by ruling elites to large-scale construction and repairs of temples. Through these temples, ruling elites attempted to create a new and centralized ritual structure by seeking identification with the divinity enshrined in the temple." Hence, in order to understand how the ruling elites used religion as a vehicle to unleash their cosmic and divine powers, we have documented various aspects of ideology and beliefs. Primarily, we characterize the sectarian affiliations of the king that were revealed through religious epithets in the *prasastis*. Secondly, we focus on the worship that the members of the Chalukyan families offered to various Gods and Goddesses. Finally, we look at the boons that the members of this family are believed to have received by the favor of various Gods and Goddesses of both the Pan-Indian as well as those of local importance.

It is important to study the various religious titles/epithets mentioned in the *prasastis*, because they not only connote to a particular religious faith that the king affiliated to, but more significantly these titles also allude to the equation of the king with the God. In this regard, we have come across titles/epithets such as *Paramesvara*, *Paramamahesvara*, *Raja Paramesvara*, *Parama brahmanya*, *Paramabhagavata*, *pratyaksha vadvalli* etc., that refer to the worship of Lord Siva, the *brahmanas*, Lord Visnu and Jina, respectively.

To begin with in the context of TYPE I in Phase 1, we first come across the title/ epithet *Parama brahmanya* mentioned in about 16 (**Chart IVA, 4, 8, 18, 22-24, 26, 29, 30, 68, 77-80, 84, 85**). J. F. Fleet has understood this title as indicating the 'one who is an excellent worshipper of God Brahma'.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, D. C. Sircar has interpreted this expression as actually indicating 'a devout follower of *Brahmanas*'.¹⁰¹ It is also noted in 7 examples in TYPE II genealogies (**Chart IVA, 96-99, 115-117**) and in 9 examples in TYPE III genealogies of Phase 2 (**Chart IVB, 11, 19, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 97, 98**). But it is completely absent in TYPE IV genealogical data. Reference to *Parama brahmanya* alludes to the prevalence of brahmanical religion. In fact, it had been noted that the early medieval period had witnessed a great spurt in the

revival of brahmanical religion so as to counter the dominance of heretical religions, namely, Buddhism and Jainism. The dominance of Vedic religion during this period was attested by the patronization of *brahmanas* through land grants. Brahmanism is also associated with the performance of Vedic sacrifices such as *vajapeya*, *asvamedha*, *agnistoma*, *paundarika*, etc. We have discussed in the previous Chapter that in TYPES I, II and in some examples of TYPE III, pertaining to the Eastern Deccan, the Chalukyan kings patronizing *brahmanas* by making large-scale donations of land. Further, in the beginning of this chapter, we also noted references to Vedic sacrifices in all the above three TYPES. All these instances suggest that Brahmanism prevailed during Phase 1 in the Deccan and by Phase 2 it only survived in the Deccan. Further, greater number of examples in TYPE I that indicated to the initial stages of growth of the Chalukyan kingdoms, meant the need to carve an identity based on supreme authority. Hence, patronization of *brahmanas* has become a necessity, since these groups who are represented as human agents of 'spiritual authority' conferred on the king politico-ideological validation to his temporal authority. Hence, the kings were shown frequently proclaiming themselves as devout followers of the *brahmanas*.

The next important titles that we come across in the inscriptions refer to *Paramesvara*, *Parama mahesvara* and *Raja Paramesvara*. These titles refer to the epithets used for Lord Siva and hence denote the 'The Great Lord', 'The Supreme Lord'. Proclaiming these titles by the king, therefore, clearly indicated to his affiliation to Saivism. In the context of TYPE I genealogies in Phase 1, we noted 21 examples that mention the epithet *Paramesvara* (**Chart IVA, 5, 6, 16, 19, 25, 27, 35-37, 42-44, 75, 77-83, 95**) and 7 examples that refer to the epithet *Parama mahesvara* (**Chart IVA, 77-80, 84, 85, 95**). References to the epithet *Paramesvara* is found augmented in TYPE II genealogies, as we now come across 43 examples in contrast to 21 in TYPE I (**Chart IVA, 47-61, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76, 90-92, 97-99, 101, 104-111, 113, 115-117**), but only 4 examples refer to the epithet *Parama mahesvara* (**Chart IVA, 90-92, 96**).

By Phase 2, the preponderance of the title *Paramesvara* can be clearly attested from the examples of TYPES III and IV genealogical patterns. In this regard, we noticed 22 out of 28 examples in TYPE III that refer to this epithet (**Chart IVB, 4, 7, 10, 11, 14, 19, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 57, 59, 66, 69, 73, 84, 86, 88, 91, 97, 98**). Besides, we also have reference to other epithets such as *Paramamahesvara* (**Chart IVB, 44, 97, 98**) and *Raja Paramesvara* (**Chart IVB, 60, 61, 66**) in three examples each. TYPE IV presents an interesting tendency with almost 70 examples out of 72 addressing the king as *Paramesvara* (**Chart IVA, 118-120**), (**Chart IVB, 1-3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15-18, 21-35, 37, 39-43, 45-50, 55, 56, 58, 62-65, 67, 68, 70-72, 74-82, 85, 87, 89, 90, 92, 93**). In the same TYPE, we have 9 examples that mention the epithet *Paramamahesvara* (**Chart IVB, 47-52, 55, 56**). Thus, the above examples go on to indicate that in Phase 1, the influence of Saivism is rather limited compared to Phase 2, where the ruling elites prolifically assumed the titles that indicated to their Saivite inclinations. This may have been prompted by the fact that by now, Saivism has emerged as the dominant religious faith having larger social base, and hence, came to be adopted by the ruling elites to show their solidarity with the people and further enhance their claims for divinity.

Apart from the above titles, we also come across another title/ epithet namely, *Paramabhagavata*. Reference to this title in Chajukyan inscriptions is minimal. Thus, it has been noted that it is mentioned only in three examples of TYPE I (**Chart IVA, 4, 8, 9**) and is found conspicuously absent in other TYPES such as TYPES II, III and IV. The epithet *Paramabhagavata* indicated to 'the devout worshipper of Bhagavat', Le^a, Visnu. This title further indicates to the prevalence of Bhagavatism. An important aspect of Bhagavatism is that it represented both the sectarian religions of Vaisnavism and Saivism. It advocated *bhakti marga* that in fact, had become the major tenet advocated by both these sectarian religions by the end of Phase 1.

Alongside the titles indicating the Vedic and Puranic religious affiliations, we also have titles such as *Pambarankusa* and *Pratyaksa Vadvalli* that

indicated Jaina affiliation. The title *Pambaramkusa* refers to one of the 24 Jaina goddesses¹⁰² and the epithet *Pratyaksa Vadvalli* is understood as 'a one who like a creeper dispel sweet fragrance among the Jaina followers'.¹⁰³ These are mentioned in three examples of TYPE II genealogies (**Chart IVA, 102, 103, 114**) and clearly suggest the king's affiliation towards Jainism. Pertinently, these titles appear in the records of the minor Chalukyan family of Vemulavada. It may be noted that this family served as subordinates to the Rastrakutas, who were staunch followers of Jainism. Hence, it was natural for this family to emulate their overlords in patronizing Jainism.

In the light of the above discussions, it is evident that the assumptions of the above-mentioned titles/ epithets apparently assumed by the king not only indicated to his religious affiliation, but more pertinently, it also suggests, how these grand titles have become important in articulating the divinity of the king. Though, all social groups worship the God, however, it is only to the ruling groups that these titles/ epithets are applied in addressing them. Hence in our view, reference to these titles should in fact, be looked as attempts to reiterate the king's claims for a divine authority on the earth.

The cosmic relationship between the God and the king is further manifested through the worship of Gods and Goddesses belonging to the Puranic religion, Tantrism and other heterodox faiths, construction of temples for them and performing rituals that squarely corresponds with the life style of the king. From the standpoint of temporal power, these religious faiths simultaneously acquire the connotation of the sacred domain.¹⁰⁴ Hence, we observe that the Chalukyan kings patronized all these religious faiths either simultaneously or at different points in time. However, it is pertinent to state here that though the worship of Gods and Goddesses of various religious faiths need not necessarily reflect the personal faith of an individual king, yet, it is certainly understood as a strategy through which an individual tried to seek a common religious identity, cutting across caste/ class differences.

The information on the religious worship of the king is known to us from the reference to Gods and Goddesses that are usually found mentioned in the

invocatory versus of the *prasastis*. In the context of TYPE I genealogies, we have noted from the Mahakuta Pillar inscription of Maiigale&a dated roughly to 580 AD, mentioning the king as an excellent worshipper of the God Brahma (**Chart IVA, 3**). Apart from this solitary example, we do not have references to the worship of this God, either in the other examples of TYPE I or in those of TYPES namely, TYPES II, III and IV genealogies. In this regard, B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao observes that though the syncretic nature of Puranic religions resulted in the concept of *Trimurthy*— manifesting the Gods Brahma, Visnu and Mahesvara, yet, by the early medieval period, the predominance of Hari in Vaisnavism and Hara in Saivism had retrograde the influence of Brahma.¹⁰⁵ Hence, we notice that the later Chalukyan kings worship both Visnu and Giva in their various manifestations.

The other important deity mentioned in the Puranic pantheon apart from Brahma, is Visnu, the Preserver. He is the supreme God worshipped In Vaisnavism. An important feature of Vaisnavism is that it is based on the theory of *avatars*. This helped the religion to absorb the local deities and grow as a syncretic religion. The evolution of Vaisnavism in the early medieval period revolved around the cult of Vasudeva-Krsna, the leader of the famous epic, namely, the *Mahabharata*. Vasudeva-Krsna is defined as Bhagavat and is identified with Narayana and Visnu, who were held supreme among the Brahmanists. In the present study, the worship of Visnu is primarily noted in his *varahavatara* or the boar incarnation form. Some scholars believe that *varaha* is a totem object of the influential non-Aryan tribes of Central India. In this regard, Charles Eliot observes that "when some aboriginal deity becomes important owing to the popularity by the *brahmanas* it is admitted into their pantheon."¹⁰⁶ Thus, it is evident that the theory of *avatars* helped Vaisnavism to absorb the local deities and grow as a syncretic religion.

In the context of TYPE I for Phase 1, we noted 11 examples that mentioned the Chajukyas as worshippers of Visnu in his boar incarnation (**Chart IVA, 17, 19, 25, 27, 28, 35-37, 42-44**). In TYPE II genealogies, this

number has doubled up to 22 as against 11 in TYPE I, where reference to **the** worship of Visnu in his boar incarnation was found (**Chart IVA, 46-60, 65, 66, 69, 72-74, 76**). On the contrary, in TYPE III genealogical data, we have noted only 5 examples, where the record commenced with an invocation to Visnu in his boar incarnation (**Chart IVB, 4, 14, 59, 69, 86**). Similarly, even in the context of TYPE IV genealogies too, we note only 6 examples out of 72, that refer to the worship of Visnu in his boar incarnation (**Chart IVA, 119,)** (**Chart IVB, 43, 63, 64, 70, 82**). Thus, it is evident that the worship of Visnu in *varahavatara* has considerably declined from Phase 1 to Phase 2.

Reference to the worship of Visnu in his other incarnations such as Lord Narayana, Bhagavan, Vasudeva and Narasimha are also noted from the inscriptions of Chalukyas for both Phases. Thus in Phase, for TYPE I, we notice in one example, the Chalukyas being mentioned as the worshippers at the feet of the Lord Visnu (*Sri Svami padanudyatanam*) (**Chart IVA, 2**). In 3 other instances, the king is described as an excellent worshipper of God Bhagavan/Bhagavat (Visnu) (**Chart IVA, 3, 8, 13**). On the other hand, in the context of TYPE II genealogies, we have 3 examples that commence the invocation with salutations to Lord Narayana (*Om=Namo Narayanaya*) (**Chart IVA, 89, 92, 96**). However, this is found absent in TYPE III genealogies of Phase 2. But a couple of examples in TYPE IV, refer to Lord Vasudeva (*Namo bhagavate Vasudevaya*) (**Chart IVB, 78, 92**) and in one example the Chalukyas are stated as protected by the tips of the Man-Lion's (Narasimha) plough share-like nails (**Chart IVB, 78**). In the Deccan, the cult of Narasimha (Man-Lion) is popular among the Chenchu tribes who adopted this deity as their tutelary God. From the 11th century AD onwards, the ruling elites from Chajukyan families and their subordinates patronized this cult by constructing temples at places like Alampur, Ahobilam, Sirphachalam, etc., and further, gave munificent grants for their maintenance.^{io7} This clearly indicates the ruling elites attempts to be identified with the local tribal cults by acculturating them at the pan-regional level.

From the above descriptions, it is evident that the worship of Visnu and his various manifestations by the Chalukyan kings is considerably large in Phase 1 than in Phase 2. This can be further substantiated from our earlier discussions in this Chapter, where it has been noticed that the Chalukyan kings in Phase 1 were found often drawing comparisons with Visnu than in Phase 2, where it was completely absent. Further, one also finds that the early members of the Chalukyan family even called themselves as *Sri Prthvivallabha*, meaning the Lord of the Goddess of Wealth (*Sri*) and Earth (*Prthvi*), thus clearly indicating their inclination towards Vaisnavism. To further express their devotion to the God Visnu, the early Chalukyan kings even constructed huge temples at Badami, Sirpur, Ladkhan and Kontigudi from the period between the 6th to the 7th centuries AD. An important feature in these temples is the depiction of different *avataras* of Visnu in the sculptural panels.¹⁰⁸ However, in Phase 2, we noted earlier that the Chalukyan kings constructed temples for Narasirpha an incarnation of Visnu, than directly to Visnu as noted in Phase 1. Chalukyan king's inclination towards Vaisnavite faith is further, revealed from their adoption of *Varaha*, the Sacred Boar as the symbol representing their political authority. Thus, all these facts go on to suggest that the worship of Visnu was prolific in Phase 1. This is important because as newly ruling elites, who had just assumed political authority, it is crucial for them to emphasize their claims by associating with Visnu, who is perceived as the supreme cosmic power and regulator of the world. Further, his various incarnations explain that Visnu had taken these forms to uproot evil and establish order in the society. It is in this regard, that Chalukyan kings worship of Visnu or even comparisons drawn with Visnu, especially in TYPE I during Phase 1, become important because it reiterates their intentions to be recognized as supreme beings who had come to power to establish "order" in the chaotic society and thus justify their political authority. However, in Phase 2 the declining reference to the worship of Visnu can be attributed to the fact that by now Saivism had become a dominant religious ideology in the society, hence we find the kings during this time are closely affiliated to this religion.

Saivism is not only the oldest but also the most predominant religion in the Deccan. It is associated with the worship of Lord Siva in his various appellations. The Chalukyan kings of the Deccan zealously followed this religion, which is even attested by the assumption of titles/epithets such as, *paramesvara* and *paramamahesvara*. The kings of this family also worshipped Lord Siva under his various appellations such as Svami bhattaraka, Mahesvara, Sambhu, Srikanta, Andhasura Svami. Reference to the worship of Lord Siva occurs only in 4 examples in TYPE I for Phase 1. Thus, in one instance, the Chalukyas are described as meditating at the feet of Svami bhattaraka (*Svamibhattaraka-pada-padma*) (**Chart IVA, 22**) and in other examples, the king is described as a zealous worshipper of Mahesvara (**Chart IVA, 33, 95**) and Lord Siva (**Chart IVA, 75**). There is thus a limited mention to Saivite gods in TYPE when compared to Visnu and his *avatars*. A similar pattern emerges in TYPE II genealogies wherein one notices only a few examples that refer to Lord Siva with his different names. In 3 examples, we notice an invocation to Siva (*Sivam=astu*) (**Chart IVA, 93, 94, 111**) and in one other instance, the record begins with a salutation to Srikanta (Siva) (**Chart IVA, 61**). In the context of TYPE III during Phase 2, however, we do not find any records that refer to the worship of Lord Siva. However, in TYPE IV, one significantly notes an increase in the references that mention the worship to Lord Siva. In this regard, we have 15 examples where Lord Siva under his different appellations was venerated. Thus, for instance, in about 12 instances the inscription begins with reverence to Sambhu/ Sambhave, which is the other name of Siva (**Chart IVB, 48, 52, 56, 58, 70, 75, 76, 79, 80, 85, 89, 95**). Siva was also worshipped in the form of Andhasura Svami (**Chart IVB, 81**). Andhasura is an epithet of Siva, which he assumed after destroying the demon Andha or Andhaka.¹⁰⁹ In one instance, the king is mentioned as the worshipper at the feet of Hara (**Chart IVB, 64**). An increase in the number of these examples in TYPE IV may be attributed to the fact that by now, Saivism had already established its strong social base attracting all sections of the people. Hence, it had also become important for the king to identify himself with the mass religion to

assert his religious identity. Interestingly, we have noted in one example dated to 1097 AD, reference to a king of the Chajukyan family paying tributes to Sambhu, Harihara, and Narayana (**Chart IVB, 72**) indicating the syncretic tendencies that had emerged in Phase 2 emphasizing on the reconciliation between the two major religious systems, namely Vaisnavism and Saivism.¹¹⁰ This reflects, at one level, on the various attempts at overcoming the dissension among the elite classes, but partly at another level, at reconciling the deeper tension and conflict between the two sects.

From the above evidences, it is apparent that the worship of Siva in Phase 1 is very less when compared to Visnu. However, by Phase 2 especially from TYPE IV, it is evident that by now Lord Siva came to be worshipped more intensely. Further, we noted that most of the inscriptions in TYPE IV are that of the local chiefs and other dominant social groups. This clearly indicates the popularity of Saivism among the larger social groups.

Another important feature of Saivism is the worship of Karttikeya or Mahasena, the son of Siva and Parvati. In this context, in TYPE I one notices 22 examples that mention the Chajukyias as meditating at the feet of Svami Mahasena (*Svami Mahasena Padanudhyatanam*) (**Chart IVA, 7, 9, 23, 24, 26, 32, 38, 40, 41, 45, 62, 63, 67, 68, 70, 71, 77, 79, 80, 82, 84-86, 95**). Similarly, even in the context of TYPE II, we have 29 examples that refer to the Chajukyias as the worshippers at the feet of Svami Mahasena (**Chart IVA, 34, 87-94, 96-99, 101, 104-113, 115-117**). The same trend continues even in the context of TYPE III, where we have 15 examples in which the rulers claim to be meditating at the feet of Svami Mahasena (**Chart IVB, 7, 11, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 60, 61, 66, 91, 97, 98**). Interestingly, one may note that all these examples mentioned above are located in the sub-region of the Eastern Deccan. In fact, the Eastern Chajukyias also constructed huge temple for this God at Chebrolu and Bezwada.¹¹¹ In contrast, in TYPE IV, one does not find reference to Swami Mahasena. Prolific reference to this deity in the examples of TYPE I, II and III indicates that Lord Mahasena and Karttikeya

may have been the tutelary deities of the Chajukyan families. Interestingly, the *Puranas* mention that Karttikeya was born in the forest and was looked after by the six Krttikas.¹¹² This perhaps suggests that Karttikeya who is also called Mahasena, was originally the tutelary deity of some forest tribes. If we assume this preposition, then it clearly indicates that the Chajukyan families accepted such autochthonous deities popular in their territories as family and tutelary deities of their principalities. Kulke points out that this seems to be essential for the consolidation and legitimization of political power in the newly formed kingdom.¹¹³ Further, by adopting this mechanism, the ruling elite was also able to control the tribal areas, through the process of acculturation of the tribal deities.

An interesting feature associated with the worship of Siva was the installation of *Banaiirigas*. The concept of *Banaiirigas* noted in the *panacayatana*¹¹⁴ worship introduced by Kumarilabhatta during the Eastern Chajukyan period. *Banaiirigas* were installed in honor of the deceased. In the context of the present study, we have noticed in Phase 1, from the inscriptions of Vijayaditya II of the Eastern Chalukyan king that the king had installed *banaiirigas* at 108 places and constructed Saivite temples at these places. Even from Phase 2, TYPE III, we noted from the Kalidindi inscription¹¹⁵ that Rajaraja Narendra, the Eastern Chalukya king had built temples in honor of his general Brahma Maharaja and two other generals, who died fighting on his behalf. It was under these circumstances that Rajaraja is said to have set up in memory of Rajaraja Brahma Maharaja a temple dedicated to God Siva called Rajarajesvara at the village of Kalidindi.

An important aspect of Saivism is the emergence of radical Saivite sects like the Pasupatas, Kalamukhas, Kapaiikas and the Siddhas. The Pasupata system is one of the orthodox Siddhantas of India. They believed in *ahimsa* and worshipped Siva in the form of Liriga. In the context of the present study, reference to the Pasupatas comes from TYPE I genealogies in Phase 1, where Visnuvardhana III (AD 718-752) mentions Sivacnaryas, of the Pasupata

sect.¹¹⁶ The next important sect is the Kalamukha sect **that became popular in** the Deccan from the 10th century AD. The Kalamukhas are said to have descended from the third disciple of Lakulisvara by name Kaurus or Kalana. They are the religious reformers with a strong social basis. Reference to the patronage of Kalamukhas by the Chajukyan kings is noted from the Tandikonda inscription of Ammaraja II dated to 945 AD, in TYPE II of Phase 1. The record describes the Kalamukhas as the members of the *Simhaparishad* subdivision. The Kalamukhas erected temples and monasteries at Amaravati, Bezwada, Srisailam and Alampur. However, we do not come across references to the Chajukyan kings supporting other Saivite sects like the Kapalikas and the Siddhas. From this, we can infer that whereas the ruling elite associated themselves with the orthodox Saivism, the Tantric and the Siddha movements primarily expressed the religious needs, interests and aspirations of the underprivileged and lower strata of society.

The dominance of Saivism in the Deccan can be further attested from the construction of temples dedicated to Lord Siva. Thus, it had been noticed that in Phase 1, though the Chajukyan kings affiliation to this religion is rather moderate, yet they patronized the religion by constructing temples dedicated to Lord Siva at Alampur, Biccavolu, Bezwada, Chebrolu, the Pancharamas¹¹⁷ and Srisailam. However, by Phase 2 there was a great proliferation of these Saivite temples, since now not only the ruling elite but even the local chiefs and other wealthy sections of the society such as merchants constructed temples for Lord Siva under his various names. Thus, we have the Kalamesvara temple at Kotavumchigi (1012 AD), the Kadambesvaradeva temple at Shiggaon (1055 AD), Nagesvara temple at Sudi (1059 AD), Svayambhu Siddhesvara temple at Bijapur (1074 AD), Svayambhu Somesvara temple at Yewur (1077 AD), Kedaresvara temple at Belgaum (1168 AD)²¹⁸ and so on. From these examples, it is evident that the names of these temples squarely corresponded to the names of the local chiefs who constructed or patronized them.

Apart from the mention of deities belonging to the Puranic pantheon, we also simultaneously notice in some records, reference to *Sramanic* faiths like Jainism and Buddhism. Though under the early Chajukyas of Badami, this religion is less popular, it is primarily under the Rastrakutas and subsequently under the Kalyani Chalukyas that it has emerged as the significant religion especially, in the Western Deccan. In the context of the present study, we find references to the Chajukyan kings worshipping Lord Jina. In this regard, in TYPE I genealogies during Phase 1, we have come across one example where the record begins with an invocation to Jina (Chart IVA, 11). On the other hand, in TYPE II, the number of examples that refer to an invocation to Lord Jina slightly increases to 4 instances (Chart IVA, 12, 64, 101, 114). This increase in reference to the Jina from TYPE I to TYPE II, may point to the increasing influence of Jainism on the ruling elite. But, in the context of TYPE III genealogies, we again found only one example where the record begins with an invocation to Jina (Chart IVB, 88). However, this does not mean that Jainism as a religion had declined. Rather, it was that patronage to this faith by kings of the main ruling family had declined in favor of *brahmanas*. It is for this reason that, reference to Jainism in the above examples was especially noted in the context of the minor Chajukyan kings or the local chiefs. That Jainism continued to have greater impact on the local chiefs than on the ruling families can be further noted from the examples of TYPE IV. In this regard, we have noticed about 12 examples in TYPE IV that refer to obeisance paid to Jina (Chart IVB, 2, 8, 15, 18, 21, 27, 28, 37, 42, 50, 62, 77). Further, in TYPE IV, one has also noticed a solitary example where the record begins with salutation to Buddha (*Namo Buddhaya*) (Chart IVB, 71). It is important to note that reference to Buddha is absent in all earlier TYPES of genealogical patterns. In the context of TYPE IV, where we have noted the rise of local chiefs, inscriptions mention the worship of either Jina or Siva in his different appellations. This reflects on the fact that both these vied with each other for patronage. Indeed, as argued by earlier scholarship this was a period when Saivite *mathas* and their *acharyas* were in conflict with Jaina *acharya*, but they also influenced each other.¹¹⁹

It may be noted that in all these religious sects namely, Vaisnavism, Saivism, Jainism and Buddhism in the early medieval context were greatly influenced by Tantric dogmas. The Tantric system is characterized by the worship of Sakti or the female energy of Siva. The presence of the female principle in the name of Sakti gradually developed into an independent cult of Saktism. The important aspect of this new cult was the appropriation of autochthonous cults. We shall discuss this in detail in another context in the subsequent pages.

The emergence of theistic worship of sectarian gods found its institutional base in temples. This led to the proliferation of temple institutions that eventually had become crucial centers for linking up local systems into larger organizational units as every person or groups who controlled political or economic power joined in the pattern of religious patronage. Thus, the long support of religious institutions such as temples or monasteries constituted the most important forms of legitimation and control of the society.¹²⁰

Synchronous to these processes of legitimation is the new ideology of *bhakti*. *Bhakti* emerged as a dominant ideology of the new religious sects such as Saivism and Vaisnavism in the early medieval period. The cult of devotion and loyalty towards the deity became the rallying points of *bhakti* ideology. *Bhakti* received its support through the institutionalization and construction of temples. The temple complex included within its organizational layers, vast sections of population who control political or economic power. All these groups directly came under the influence of *bhakti* ideology. The concept of *bhakti* emphasizes on devotion, loyalty and complete surrender towards the deity.¹²¹ *Bhakti* enabled the king to draw parallelism between the God and the king and this not only provided legitimation to the temporal authority, but at the same time, it elevated the king to the status of a God. In fact, this is even more apparent from the rituals and festivals celebrated in the temple that exactly reflects the life style of the king in palace.

Another important aspect that connected the king to the universe described in the inscriptions of different TYPES of genealogies is with reference to festivals

and rituals that were supposed to have been celebrated by the kings of different Chalukyan families. The conduct of festivals are related to cyclic calendars of the cosmic notions of time. Further, they emphasize on elements of social connectedness and contact to the commonness of sharing. Thus, at one level the connectedness of human life and affairs to the universal Consciousness was articulated and on the other a human sharing of the joy of being together in participation was also adhered to.¹²² it may be noted here that reference to festivals occurred in the inscriptions as a sequel to the recording of contemporary time. These festivals marked the auspicious occasions on which the grants were made. In this regard, in TYPE I, we have come across the mentioning of only three such festivals like *Mahanavamyam* (**Chart IVA, 10**), *Samkranti* (**Chart IVA, 62**) and *Visnupada nimitte* (**Chart IVA, 9**). But in the context of TYPE II genealogies, we discern an increase in the mention of various festivals and rituals that were different from those mentioned in TYPE I. Thus, we have the mention of festivals or rituals like *Agnikarya Nimitte* (**Chart IVA, 55**) that was mentioned in one instance, as *Dakshinayana Samkranti* in 4 instances (**Chart IVA, 51, 53, 96, 104**) and as *Uttarayana Samkranti* in 6 instances (**Chart IVA, 97, 101, 102, 111-113**). Besides these festivals, we also have two instances where the Eastern Chalukyan king Amma II is said to have performed *karpata vrata* (**Chart IVA, 105, 116**). In the context of TYPE III genealogies in Phase 2, we notice 10 examples that refer to festivals like *Uttarayana Samkranti* (**Chart IVB, 10, 53, 54, 61, 86**), *Dakshinayana Samkranti* (**Chart IVB, 96**) and *Uttara Bhadrakayam* (**Chart IVB, 10, 19, 36, 38**). In TYPE IV genealogies, we come across references to variety of festivals and rituals like *Nandisvarashtami* (**Chart IVB, 2**), *Lakshadhma vrata* (**Chart IVB, 32**) and *Ananda Tirtha snana* (**Chart IVB, 33**). Besides this the reference to the usual festivals like *Dakshinayana Samkranti* and *Uttarayana Samkranti* continues. Interestingly, the number of examples that refer to *Uttarayana Samkranti* tremendously increased in TYPE IV. Thus, we note 36 examples that mention *Uttarayana Samkranti* (**Chart IVA, 118, 120**) (**Chart IVB, 9, 12, 13, 15-18, 24, 27, 29, 30, 35, 37, 39, 45-49, 51, 52, 56, 57, 62, 63, 65, 71, 72, 76, 78-80, 85, 93**). On the other hand, *Dakshinayana Samkranti* was mentioned in only one instance (**Chart IVB, 49**).

The term *Mahanavamyam*, perhaps referred to the *Mahanavami* festival celebrated during the Dassara time. The term *Samkranti* actually implies the transit of the sun or a planetary body from one sign of the zodiac into another, particularly applied to the passage of the sun from Sagittarius to Capricorn in January. Today, in most parts of India, this occasion is celebrated by the Hindus as *Pongal*.¹²³ On the other hand, the term *Visnupada* refers to 'the sky'¹²⁴ where Visnu as the Sun is said to be traversing. *Agnikarya Nimitte* means a grant made at the time of 'kindling or feeding the sacrificial fire with the clarified butter'.¹²⁵ The term *karpati vrata* refers to the ritual that involved continuous celibacy, truthful speech, purity, liberality, forbearance and kindness, etc. On the other hand, the terms *Uttarayana Samkranti* and *Dakshinayana Samkranti* indicate the division of the year into northern and southern courses of the sun on the basis of the summer and winter solstice.¹²⁶ Within Puranic Hinduism these two days were considered auspicious moments that are indicative of change from one season to another. Significantly, reference to all these festivals and rituals were used as time markers on which the grant was made. Though some of the rituals mentioned above were of local origin like the *karpati vrata*, nonetheless, they were all connected to the larger cosmic order.

VII

Another method through which the ruling elites often emphasized upon their divinity is by proclaiming themselves as the most favored by the Gods and Goddesses to rule the land. This was done by referring to various boons and attributes that the ruling family believed to have been bestowed with. In fact, this has become an important mechanism through which the king could strongly entrench himself in the local area of his control. In this regard, we notice the Chajukyan kings often referring to various boons and favors such as being protected by the Saptamatikas, acquired kingdom by the favor of Goddess Kausiki, prospered by the favor of Lord Mahasena or Karttikeya and so on. However, it is pertinent to note that there was considerable difference in this regard, in the Chajukyan inscriptions belonging to the Eastern and the

Western Deccan. Thus, it had been noted that while the inscriptions of the Western Deccan continuously referred to the Saptamatrika tradition, on the other hand, their counterparts in the Eastern Deccan mention that they are protected by the *Matriganas*. Further, the inscriptions of the Eastern Deccan describe that they acquired the kingdom by the favor of Goddess Kausiki. This however, is found conspicuously absent in the inscriptions of the Western Deccan. But, the acquisition of the boar symbol from Lord Narayana is commonly noted in the inscriptions of both the Western and the Eastern Chalukyan inscriptions.

To being with, we note that the early inscriptions of the Chalukyan family are apparently silent about the boons and favors acquired by the Chajukyas from the Gods and Goddesses (**Chart IVA, 1-4, 16, 17, 18, 22**). This clearly indicates that these are later inventions where the king in the process of consolidating of his power, had deliberately emphasized on these special favors believed to have acquired from the Gods and Goddesses of the locality, to justify his claims for political authority. Thus, we note that in the records of the Badami Chalukyan kings, these various boons appear only from the time of Pulakesi II, during whose time the Chalukyan kingdom reached its zenith of glory.

It has been pertinently noted that in majority of examples from TYPE I genealogies belonging to the Western Deccan, there is a constant mention of the Chajukyan family being nourished by the Seven mothers of mankind (*sapta matribhir- abhivardhitanam*) (**Chart IVA, 5, 6, 10, 19, 20, 21, 25-28, 33, 35-45, 62, 63, 79, 80**). This is continued even in TYPE II genealogies where we note that almost all examples mention the protection rendered by the seven mothers of mankind on the Chajukyas (**Chart IVA, 46-60, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76**). In the context of TYPE III too, where we have examples from the Western Chajukyas of Kalyani, reference to the protection rendered by the Seven Mothers (*Sapta- matri-bhir- abhivardhitanam*) was made (**Chart IVB, 4, 14, 69, 86**). In this regard, it is pertinent to mention that the Saptamatrikas adopted by the Chalukays as their tutelary deities are associated with the

Divine Mother. In the *Puranas*, they are regarded as the offshoots of the goddess Kausiki or Cahdika and often identified with Devi herself. Yogesvari, Vaisnavi, Brahmani, Kaumari, Indranj, Mahesvari, Camunda and Varahi are referred to as the Saptamatrikas.¹²⁷ By the 8th-9th centuries AD, the cult of Saptamatrikas reached the zenith of its popularity and came to be depicted in the sculptures of all Saivite temples.

In contrast to this, examples from the Eastern Deccan in TYPE I, simply mention that they were protected by the favors received from the troop of the mothers (*Matri-gana-prasada-parirakshita*) (**Chart IVA, 7, 8, 9, 29, 30, 31, 32**) or *Matri-gana-paripalitanam* (**Chart IVA, 23, 24, 67, 68, 70, 71, 77, 78, 82-86, 95**). On the other hand, in TYPE II, a slight variation in this expression has been noted, but nonetheless, indicated that the Chajukyās were nourished by the mothers of the three worlds (*tribhuvana matri-bhir abhirakshitanam*) (*matri-gana paripalitanam*) (**Chart IVA, 34, 37-94, 96-99, 101, 104-113, 115-117**). This expression is also noted in TYPE III genealogies from the Eastern Deccan (**Chart IVB, 7, 11, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 60, 61, 66, 91, 97, 98**). However, in TYPE IV genealogies we do not find any such expressions. It is interesting to mention here that the term *Matri-gana* generally refers to the demigods attending on Siva. *Gana* is also used to refer to a tribe, class or troop.¹²⁸ Given this meaning, there is a possibility to postulate that the term *matrigana*, actually refers to a tribal goddess. Thus, it is evident from the above descriptions that the Chajukyās adopted the Mothers as their guardian deities. In fact, it may be noted that reference to the cult of Saptamatrikas in the Western Chajukyan traditions or to *matri* in the Eastern Chajukyan traditions purports to the existence of Saktism in which, the female principle in the name of Sakti plays a predominant role. During the early medieval period it developed as an independent cult from Tantrism. The popularity of the goddesses is further, suggested by its sculptural representation in the temples of Ramesvara at Ellora, Aihole, Chajukya Bhimavaram and so on, clearly indicating its worship.

Apart from the protection rendered by the Seven Mothers, the Chalukyas also believed that they received kingship through the grace of the goddess Kausiki (*Kausiki-vara-prasada-labdha-rajyanam*). In fact, it is interesting to note that, reference to this Goddess is noted only in the Eastern Chalukyan inscriptions. Thus, it is noted that in TYPE I genealogies of Phase 1, we have 16 examples out of 60 that refer to the Goddess Kausiki (**Chart IVA, 8, 38, 40, 67, 68, 77-86, 95**). In TYPE II, it is increased to 29 examples (**Chart IVA, 34, 87-94, 96-99, 101, 104-113, 115-117**) and in TYPE III of Phase 2, we have 15 examples (**Chart IVB, 7, 11, 19, 20, 36, 37, 44, 53, 54, 60, 61, 66, 91, 97, 98**). Apart from mentioning the kingdom acquired through the favor of the Goddess, in TYPE III genealogies, we also noted the Chalukyan rulers claiming to have acquired the white umbrella and other tokens of sovereignty, through the favor of the Goddess Kausiki (**Chart IVB, 4, 14, 59, 69, 86**).

It is pertinent to note here that Goddess Kausiki adopted by the Eastern Chalukyas as their tutelary deity is considered as one of the various manifestations of the mother Goddess, Devi or Durga during the 5th-6th centuries AD. She is identified as Vindhyavasini.¹²⁹ Interestingly, the name Kausiki was connected with the Kusika tribe.¹³⁰ She is considered as the goddess of war who not only confers victory and success on her worshippers in the battle-field, but also actually participates in the war to deliver the world, whenever it is opposed by the demons.¹³¹ In this context, reference to Kausiki from whom the Eastern Chalukyas claimed to have obtained the kingdom is interesting, as one can easily presume that they worshipped this Goddess to obtain victory against the barbarous Kiratas, who appeared to be difficult to subdue, as noted from Bharavi's descriptions in *Kiratarjuniyam*. This also explains why we do not find this tradition in the records of the Western Chalukyas.

Apart from references to the Mother Goddesses, the Chalukyas also described themselves as having accomplished an uninterrupted continuity of

prosperity of the kingdom, by the favor and protection rendered by Karttikeya (*Karattikeya- anugraha- pahrakshana- prapta- kalyana pa ram para nam*). In this regard, in TYPE I, we note 19 examples out of 60 (**Chart IVA, 5, 6, 10, 19, 20, 21, 25, 27, 28, 33, 35-37, 39, 42-44**). In TYPE II, the number has been slightly increased to 23 examples (**Chart IVA, 46-60, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76**). However, in the context of TYPE III genealogies, reference to god Karttikeya occurs not in the context of rendering prosperity to the Chalukyas as noted in the above examples, but as benefactor of the Chalukyas through whose favor they believed to have acquired the banners bearing representations of a peacock's tail and a spear. In this regard, we have about 5 examples (**Chart IVB, 4, 14, 59, 69, 86**). On the contrary, this tradition is found absent in the examples belonging to TYPE IV. Pertinently, one has noted that all the examples mentioned above are noted from the Western Chalukyan families. On the other hand, though reference to God Karttikeya is absent in the Eastern Chalukyan inscriptions, however, in a couple examples of TYPE I, we notice reference to God Mahasena through whose favor the Chalukyas are supposed to have prospered (*Mahasena-abhivarddhitanam*) (**Chart IA, 23, 24**). Apart from these two examples, we do not find this reference in any of the TYPES. We have explained earlier in this Chapter, that both these Gods Karttikeya and Mahasena were the tutelary deities of the Chalukyas. Further, we also explained the connection of Karttikeya with forest tribes. This is interesting as it purports to tribal connections and secondly, it also explains the ruling elites attempts to be identified with the local tribal people.

Another important deity from whom the Chalukyas consistently claimed to have obtained boons is lord Narayana. In this regard, we have several examples that refer to the Chalukyas as having obtained the crest of the Boar through the favor of holy Narayana, the sight of which had brought the subjection of the hostile kings (*Bhagavan-Narayana-Prasada samasadhita varaha-lanchhana*). Thus, in TYPE I, we have 40 examples that refer to lord Narayana and the *varaha-lanchhana* that they obtained from him (**Chart IVA, 5-7, 10, 19-21, 25-28, 33, 35-45, 62, 63, 67, 68, 70, 71, 77-86, 95**).

This feature continued even in TYPE II, with about 50 out of examples referring to it (**Chart IVA, 46-60, 64-66, 69, 72-74, 76, 87-94, 96-99, 101, 104' 113, 115-117**). In TYPE III too, it is prolifically mentioned (**Chart IVB, 4, 7, 11, 14, 19, 20, 36, 38, 44, 53, 54, 59-61, 66, 69, 86, 91, 97, 98**). However, it is only in TYPE IV that reference to holy Narayana is completely absent. We have earlier discussed the association of Boar or *varaha* as representing a totemic symbol of aboriginal tribes.

Hence, from the above discussion it is evident that the Chajukyas have significantly assimilated various tribal deities at various points in time as their tutelary deities from the localities of their control. This is important, as it enabled them to assert their supremacy by proclaiming their deliberate choice by the Gods and Goddesses, to rule. In fact it may be noted that the process of recognizing the deities of the 'Great Tradition' and the 'Little Tradition' is reciprocal in the sense that, while the dominant sections assimilated the tribal/ autochthonous deities into pan-Indian religions, on the other hand, the local chiefs and other tribes in the *locality recognize* the supreme power of the king by offering grants to the temples built by the main kings. Thus for instance, it has been observed that the *Boya* tribes made *munificent grants* to the Chajukya Bhimesvara temple at Draksharamam.¹³² In fact, it may be pointed out that this process of acculturation of cults of tribal areas, however, did not result in the loss of distinct Chalukyan identity, but as Romila Thapar rightly observes, it emphasized upon their participation in the sense of the past. In this regard, there is a mutual appropriation of the past on the part of two groups where the group with the weaker historical tradition accepts the stronger tradition.¹³³ Hence, in or opinion, the mention of these beliefs as part of genealogies provided the ruling elite with both the historical as well as social validations that is *crucial to have* strong political foundations.

Thus, from the above descriptions of various ideological components that went into the making of the narrative structures of the *prasasti* material in inscriptions, it is evident to us that there was a constant and continuous endeavor on the part of the Chajukyan families to establish linkages with the traditions with pan-Indian symbols and the local traditions. This has been done,

as noted in the above discussions, through various ways such as glorifying physical and personal characteristics of the king and his ancestors either, by drawing comparisons with the Gods and heroes from the epics and the *Puranas*. Further, we also noticed that there was an attempt by the ruling elites to acculturate autochthonous deities. Thus, from our study on ideology we were able to show, through an analysis of various cultural symbols, how the Chalukyan kings were able to grapple with the larger notions of time and space through establishing pan-Indian and regional linkages that have become crucial to establish an identity.

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- ² Cited in Burton Stein, 'The Segmentary State in South Indian History', in R. G. Fox (ed.), *Realm and Region in Traditional India*, Delhi, 1977, p. 18.
- ³ Daud AM, 'Royal Eulogy as World History- Rethinking Copper-plate Inscriptions in Cola India', in Ronald Inden (eds.) *Querying the Medieval: The History of Practice in South Asia*, New York, 2000, p. 165.
- ⁴ Richard Slotkin, 'The Continuity of Forms: Myth and Genre in Warner Brothers' *The Charge of the Light Brigade*', *Representations*, No. 29, 1990, p. 1.
- ⁵ B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and Muslims*, Delhi, 1998, p. 22.
- ⁶ James Heitzman, *Gifts of Power- Lordship in an Early Indian State*, Delhi, 1997, p. 17.
- ⁷ Ronald Inden, 'Ritual, Authority and Cyclic Time in Hindu Kingship', in J. F. Richards (eds.), *Kingship & Authority in South Asia*, Madison, 1981, p. 28.
- ⁸ Ibid. p. 32.
- ⁹ J. C. Heesterman, 'The Conundrum of the King's Authority', in J. F. Richards, Op. Cit., 1981, p. 6; B. D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Political Processes and Structures of Polity in Early Medieval India: Problems of Perspective', *Social Scientist*, vol. 13, 1985, p. 8.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.
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- ¹² J. C. Heesterman, *The Inner Conflict of Tradition- Essays in Indian Ritual, Kingship and Society*, Delhi, 1985, p. 141.
- ¹³ Georg Brekemer, 'Banausia and Endo-history: European Conceptions of Indian Historical Consciousness', *ASAFAS Special Paper*, 2001, p. 9.
- ¹⁴ J. C. Heesterman, Op. Cit., 1985, p. 141.
- ¹⁵ J. C. Heesterman, Op. Cit., 1981, p. 2.
- ¹⁶ Margaret and James Stutely, *A Dictionary of Hinduism*, pp. 24-27; Also see, John Dowson's, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion*, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 29-30.
- ¹⁷ Ibid. p. 938
- ¹⁸ N. N. Bhattacharya, *A Glossary of Indian Religious terms and Concepts*, New Delhi, 1990, p. 163. *Vajapeya* has been regarded as an independent sacrifice that came to be performed by a *Brahmana* or a *ksatriya* desiring super-eminence. In this ritual, a mock chariot race is held in which the sacrificer is declared victorious by announcing him (the *Yajamana*) to be *samrat* (universal monarch).

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Monier Williams, *Sanskrit- English Dictionary*, Delhi, 1979, p. 874.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 650

²¹ Ibid. p. 5

²¹ N.N. Bhattacharya, Op. Cit., 1990, p. 8.

²³ Monier Williams, Op. Cit., 1979, p. 726.

²¹ Ibid. 157.

²⁵ *EI*, XXVII, 1947-48, pp. 4-9.

²⁶ J. C. Heesterman, Op. Cit., 1981, p. 6.

²⁷ B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao, *Religion in Andhra*, Hyderabad, 1993, p. 208.

²⁸ J. F. Richards, Op. Cit., 1981, p. iv.

²⁹ J. C. Heesterman, Op. Cit., 1985, pp. 148-149.

³⁰ In this regard F. E. Pargiter informs us that in the genealogical traditions of the *ksatriyas*, the dynastic accounts often preserved long list of kings. See, F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Delhi, Rpt. 1972, p. 5.

³¹ B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao, Op. Cit., 1993, p. 216.

³² G. W. Spencer, 'Religious Networks and Royal Influence in Eleventh Century South India', *JESHO*, Vol. 12, 1969, pp. 32-56.

³³ Ronald Inden, Op. Cit., 1981, pp. 36-37.

³⁴ Cynthia Talbot, *Pre-Colonial India in Practice: Society, Region and Identity in Medieval Andhra*, Delhi, 2001, p. 88.

³⁵ P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastra*, vol. II, part 2, Poona, 1974, p. 873.

³⁶ N. N. Bhattacharya, Op. Cit., 1990, pp. 68-69.

³⁷ Ibid. *Hiranya garbha* is performed in the following way: "The donor should bring golden vessel, shaped like a *muraj* (tabor), enter it and sit holding his head between the knees as if to simulate the position of the foetus in the mother's womb which is symbolized by a vessel. The priest then repeats on the golden vessel the mantras of *garbhadana*, *pumsavana*, and *simantonnayana*, i.e., rites relating to conception. He then makes the donor emerge from the vessel and performs the 12 *sarpskaras*. The donor thus gets a new body and is considered to be reborn.

³⁸ Kesavan Veluthat, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, 1993, p. 47.

³⁹ *Hiranyagarbha* is considered as one of the *mahadanas* or the great gift offered by the kings to the priest. John Dowson, Op. Cit., 2000, p. 126; The details of the ritual of *hiranyagarbha*, is described in the *Puranas* as well as in *Dharmaśāstra* literature. The aspirant to *ksatriya* status was inserted into a large gold vessel, doubled up like a foetus in the womb (*hiranyagarbha*- 'golden womb'). This was followed by all prenatal sacraments prescribed for the 'twice-born' castes. Then the performer emerged from

the 'golden womb', sacraments such as the *jatakarman* following. He is now deemed to have been symbolically reborn into the *k?atriya* caste. Kesavan Veluthat, Op. Cit., 1993, p. 47. Also see N. N. Bhattacharya, Op. Cit., 1990, pp. 68-69.

⁴⁰ P. V. Kane, points out to *Puranas* that describe both *hiranyagarbha* and *tulapurusa* as *mahadanas*, associated with sacramental ceremonies. Op. Cit., 1974, p. 869.

⁴¹ IA, XIII, 1884, line 8, p. 186.

« P. V. Kane, Op. Cit., 1974, p. 869.

i3 Kesavan Veluthat, Op. Cit., 1993, p. 47.

i' P. V. Kane, Op. Cit., 1974, p. 872.

,6 Cited from Mikael Aktor's, '*Smrtis* and *Jatis*: the Ritualisation of Time and the continuity of the Past', in Daud Ali (eds.), *Invoking the Past: The Uses of History in South Asia*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 260.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 261.

⁴⁹ *Manava* is commonly understood as a term alluding to the Code of Manu **that was** current among the *Msnavas*, or a class or school of *brahmanas* who were followers of the Black *Yajurveda*. It is a well-known law-book and its authorship is attributed to Svayambhu Manu, who was the first Manu. This is the first and the chief work that is classified as *Smrti* and is a collection or a digest of current laws and creeds. It is considered as the foundation of Hindu law, and is held in the highest reverence by subsequent law writers. It deals with many other subjects besides law and is most important record of ancient Indian society. The Hindu scriptures were composed and disseminated. This was an exclusive privilege of the *brahmana varna*, a caste of literate specialists, who had the sole authority to decide on matters of religious and by extension of social import. John Dowson, Op. Cit., 2000, pp. 209-210; Also see for more details Vettam Mani, *Puranic Encyclopedia*, Delhi, 1975, Reprint 1984, pp. 481-485.

⁵⁰ Brhaspati, the son of Arigiras is mentioned in the Rgveda, as the suppliant, the sacrificer, the priest, who intercedes with gods on behalf of men and protects mankind against the wicked. An ancient code of law bears the name of Brhaspati and was considered as a man of vast knowledge. For more details refer, to Vetam Mani, Op. Cit., 1984, p.p. 162-164.

⁵¹ Usanas is identified with Sukra and is author of a code of law. (Mentioned in *Harivarnsa* and *Puranas*).

⁵² Manu or Svayambhu Manu one of the 14 mythological progenitors of mankind is attributed with the authorship of the law book commonly known as *Manu Samhita*. Vetam Mani, Op. Cit., 1984, pp. 481-483.

⁵³ Yudhisthira, the eldest of the five Pandu princes and mythologically, the son of Dharma, (the god of justice) is represented in the epic *Mahabharata*, as a man of calm, passionless judgement, strict veracity, unswerving rectitude and rigid justice. Ibid. pp. 226-231.

⁵⁴ Rajan Gurukkal, Op. Cit., 1996, p. 331.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

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⁵⁷ Charles Drekmeier, *Kingship and Community in Early India*, California, 1987, p. 9.

⁵⁸ B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao, *Op. Cit.*, 1993, p. 223.

⁵⁹ Hermann Kulke, *Kings and Cults: State formation and Legitimation in India and South East Asia*, Delhi, 1993, p. 3.

⁶⁰ Steven Knapp, 'Collective Memory and the Actual Past', *Representations*, No. 26, 1989.

⁶¹ Daud Ali, *Op. Cit.*, 2000, p. 170.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Francesca Cappelletto, 'Long-Term Memory of Extreme Events from Autobiography to History', *JRAI*, n.s. 9, 2003, p. 242.

⁶⁴ Visnu is regarded as the second god of the Hindu triad. In the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas*, he is regarded as the embodiment of the *sattva guna*, the quality of mercy and goodness. Visnu's preserving and restoring power has been manifested to the world in a variety of forms called *avatars* that are mentioned as ten in number. He is also variously known as Cakradhara, 'the bearer of wheel', Narayana, 'one who moves in the waters', Puranapurusa, 'the earliest man', Vasudeva, 'the son of Vasudeva as Krsna', Madhusudana, 'destroyer of the *daitya* Madhu' and so on. In the inscriptions of the present study, we have noticed reference to Visnu in these variant forms. Vetam Mani, *Op. Cit.*, 1984, p. 864-866.

⁶⁵ Indra is the most prominent god mentioned in the Vedas, the epics and the *Puranas*. He is variously known as Vajra pani, Vrtrahan, 'the destroyer of Vrtra', Purandara 'destroyer of cities' and Akhandala, 'the imperishable'. In the inscriptions of the present study, the king is equated to him with regard to his great strength as a warrior who brought upon wrath on his enemies. Ibid. pp. 318-328.

⁶⁶ Karttikeya is represented as 'the god of war'¹ and the planet Mars. He is also called as Skanda, Subrahmanya, Mahasena and so on, in South India. In the context of the present study, he appears to be one of the important deities to whom the kings often sought for blessings. Ibid. pp. 747-748.

⁶⁷ In the Vedas, Yama is represented as the god of the justice and death and in this regard, assumes an epithet Dandadidhara, 'the rod bearer' who inflicted severe punishment for the wicked people. John Dowson, *Op. Cit.*, 2000, p. 387.

⁶⁸ Narasimha refers to "The man-lion", one of the incarnations assumed by Visnu, to deliver the world from the tyranny of Hiranyakasipu, a demon king. Ibid. p. 38

⁶⁹ Kali yuga, in the *Puranas* is represented by an age when the righteousness declines and calamities, diseases, fatigue, faults, such as anger, distress, hunger and fear prevailed. Ibid. p. 396.

»° VaiSavana (Kubera), is famous for the eminence and wealth he attained after performing severe penance to God Brahma. He was regarded as the keeper of gold and silver, jewels and pearls and all treasures of the world besides nine *Nidhis*, or treasures. Vetam Mani, Op. Cit., 1984, p. 434-437.

⁷¹ Ronald Inden, Op. Cit., 1981, p. 32.

⁷² B. N. S. Yadava, 'Accounts of The Kali Age and the Social Transition', *IHR*, Vol. V, 1978, p. 52.

⁷³ Bhimasena "The terrible" is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* as the second of the five Pandu princes and mythically son of Vayu, 'the god of wind'. Reference to Bhima, in the context of the present study occurs particularly, in characterizing the king by his strength and valour, as a brave warrior, but a fierce and cruel foe, coarse in taste and manners. Bhima is also known as Vrkodara meaning 'wolf's belly', for his gluttonous appetite that of a wolf. Vetam Mani, Op. Cit., 1984, pp. 128-133.

⁷⁴ Arjuna "the White" is the prominent character of the epic *Mahabharata*. He is represented in the epic as a brave warrior, high-minded, generous, tenderhearted, chivalric in his notions of honour, upright and handsome, the most prominent and the most amiable and interesting of the five brothers. Reference to Arjuna, as noted in the *prasthis* of the present study, occurred with regard to his courage and bravery. Ibid, pp. 48-54.

⁷⁵ Bharata, the son of Dusyanta and Sakuntala was mentioned in the *Mahabharata* as the partial incarnation of Mahavisnu, who became a great ruler by conquering the world and destroying the wicked. Ibid. p. 118.

⁷⁶ Karna was noted for charity, which gets highlighted in the epic *Mahabharata*. The epic narrates the story of how Karna even after knowing the deceptive plans of Indra, gave away his ear-rings and armour with which he was born, and that made him unconquerable as long as he wore them. Ibid. pp. 391-393.

⁷⁷ Bibi the son of Usinara, is noted for his great charity. The *Mahabharata* mentions him as sacrificing himself to protect the pigeon that sought his asylum. John Dowson, Op. Cit., 2000, p. 311.

⁷⁸ Kamadhenu, the famous cow of sage Vasistha, is noted for granting desires. Vetam Mani, Op. Cit., 1984, p. 379.

⁷⁹ Airavata, is 'a fine and large white elephant', of Indra, known for its liberality. Ibid.

⁸⁰ Drona is associated with the epic *Mahabharata* as the teacher in archery of the Pandavas and the Kauravas. He is invincible and difficult to be defeated and because of his great compassion and special liking for the Pandavas, he disclosed his secrets to Dharmaraja by which he came to be killed. Ibid. pp. 248-250.

⁸¹ Raghu is a king of the Solar race. According to the *Raghuvamsha* of Kalidasa, he was mentioned as the son of Dili pa and great-grandfather of Rama, who from Raghu got the patronymic Raghava and the title Raghupati, chief of the race of Raghu. John Dowson, Op. Cit., 2000, p. 261.

⁸² The story of Mandhatr is another important narrative that occurs in the *Mahabharata*. He is mentioned as the son of YuvanaSva. He was described as a man of great strength

who conquered many kingdoms and became an emperor of fame by his virtuous rule (MB, 6loka 5, Chapter 85, Anusasana parva). Vetam Mani, Op.'cit., 1984, p. 475-476.

⁸³ prthu/ P.rithvi referred to 'the earth'. In the Vedas the earth is personified as the mother of all beings and therefore is praised for her forbearance and endurance. It is in this context that Pruthu or Prithvi is mentioned in the inscriptions of our study. John Dowson, Op. Cit., 2000, pp. 251-253.

⁸⁴ Sagara, a king of Ayodhya, of the Solar race, and son of king Bahu. The *Mahabharata* and the *Brahmanda Purana*, relates that it is from him that the ocean got its name 'Sagara'. The name Sagara is frequently dted in-vdjeeecjs^focweyjngfgranits of land in honour of his generosity. Vetam Mani, Op. Cit., 1984, p. 662

⁸⁵ The *Mahabharata* (Bhishma Parva) mentions Nrga as a king born in the dynasty of Vaivasvata Manu from whom the Ikshvaku lineage aroused. He was described as an extremely righteous and generous king. (Chapter 9, verse 7)

⁸⁶ Nala has been described in the epic *Mahabharata* as a brave and handsome king, full of virtuous, learned in the Vedas, skilled in arms and in the management of horses. The story highlights the hardships the king had to undergo due to the evil acts of Kali, but has regained everything he has lost like his physical disposition, wife, kingdom etc... merely by his good qualities that earned him fame and reputation. John Dowson, Op. Cit., 2000, pp. 223-225.

⁸⁷ Nahusa was a famous king of the Lunar dynasty. He was mentioned as a very famous king who acquired world reputation by performing sacrifices, practicing austere fervor, involving in the sacred study of the Vedas and the *Sastras*, and developing self-restraint had acquired undisturbed sovereignty of the three worlds and became the protector of his subjects. Vetam Mani, Op. Cit., 1984, pp. 515-517.

⁶⁸ Ambarisa the son of Mandhata and grandson of Yuvanasha belongs to the Ikshvaku dynasty. He is known for his devout worship of Lord Vishnu. He was considered as one the sixteen great kings⁸⁸ who lived in ancient times. He fought single handed against thousands of kings and gave away 110 crores of cows to the *Brahmanas*. (Ganti Parva, Chapter 234, verse 23).

⁸⁹ Yayati was the fifth king of the Lunar race, and son of Nahusa and the precursor of the Yadu and Puru lineages. He is known for his virtuous administration. John Dowson, Op. Cit., 2000, pp. 390-391.

⁹⁰ J. C. Heesterman, 'Power and Authority in Indian Tradition¹, in R. J. Moore (ed.) *Tradition and Politics in South Asia*, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 61-62.

⁹¹ Francesca Cappelletto, Op. Cit., 2003, p. 242.

⁹² B. D. Chattopadhyaya, 'Confronting Fundamentalisms: The Possibilities of Early Indian History', *Studies in History*, 18, 1, n.s. 2002, p. 119.

⁹³ Francesca Cappelletto, Op. Cit., 2003, p. 242.

⁹⁴ J. C. Heesterman, Op. Cit., 1979, pp. 61-62.

⁹⁵ Robert Bocock and Kenneth Thompson (eds.), *Religion and Ideology*. Manchester, 1991, p. 274.

⁹⁶ B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Delhi, 1994, p. 30.

⁹⁷ Ibid. pp. 33-34.

⁹⁸ M. G. S. Narayanan and Kesavan Veluthat, 'Bhakti Movement in South India', in D. N. Jha (ed.), *Feudal Social Formations in Early India*, Delhi, 1987, p. 367.

⁹⁹ A. Eschmann, Hermann Kulke et. al., (eds.), *The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa*, Delhi, 1986, p. 137.

¹⁰⁰ *IA*, VII, 1878, p. 162

¹⁰¹ D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965, p. 347.

¹⁰² Monier Williams, *Op. Cit.*, 1979, p. 7

¹⁰³ C. P. Brown, *Op. Cit.*, 1997, p. 1148.

¹⁰⁴ B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *Op. Cit.*, 1985, p. 12.

¹⁰⁵ B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao, *Religion in Andhra*, Hyderabad, 1993, p. 322.

¹⁰⁶ Cited from Ibid. p. 255.

¹⁰⁷ M. Narasimhacharya, *History of the Cult of Narasimha in Andhra Pradesh (From 11th century AD- 17th century AD)*, Hyderabad, 1989, pp. 4, 60, 125-126.

¹⁰⁸ B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao, *Op. Cit.*, 1993, pp. 255-263.

¹⁰⁹ *IA*, 1881, p. 253.

¹¹⁰ B. N. S. Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India in the 12th century AD*, Allahabad, 1973, p. 377.

¹¹¹ B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao, *Op. Cit.*, 1993, p. 279.

¹¹² Vetam Mani, *Op. Cit.*, 1984, pp. 747-748.

¹¹³ Hermann Kulke, *Op. Cit.*, 1993, p. 6.

¹¹⁴ The *Pañcāyatana* includes the worship of five deities namely, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Śakti, Gāṇapati and Sūrya. In this worship, each deity is represented by a small piece of stone such as Baṇaliṅga and Sālāgrāma. B. S. L. Hanumantha Rao, *Op. Cit.*, 1993, p. 324.

¹¹⁵ *EI*, XXIX, 1951-52, pp. 57-71.

¹¹⁶ *JAHRS*, XV, 1945, pp. 48-49.

¹¹⁷ The *Pañcāramas* refer to the five great Śaivite centers such as Pedda-Dakaremi, or Drāksharāma, Skandhārāma or Kumārārāma, Bhīmārāma or Chālukya Bhīmavaram, Kshīrārāma and Amarārāma or Amaravati. B. V. Krishna Rao, *History of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi*, (610-1210 AD), Hyderabad, 1973, p. 221.

¹¹⁸ K. Ismail, *Karnataka Temples- Their Role in Socio-Economic Life*, Delhi, 1984, p. 143.

¹¹⁹ R. N. Nandi, *Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 76-77.

¹²⁰ James Heitzman, 'Ritual, Polity and Economy: The Transactional Network of an Imperial Temple in Medieval South India', *JESHO*, Vol. XXXIV, 1991, p. 26.

¹²¹ M. G. S. Narayanan & Kesavan Veluthat, *Op. Cit.*, 1989, pp. 348-375.

¹²² Aloka Parasher-Sen, 'Lajja Gauris. The Universe within and /or out?', *Saggi, Religioni e Società*, 44, 2002, p. 14.

¹²³ C. P. Brown, *Op. Cit.*, 1997, pp. 1277-78.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 1202.

¹²⁵ Monier Williams, *Op. Cit.*, 1976, p. 5.

¹²⁶ Romila Thapar, *Time as a Metaphor of History: Early India*, Delhi, 1996, Rpt. 1997, p. 10.

¹²⁷ N. N. Bhattacharya, *Op. Cit.*, p. 123

¹²⁸ C. P. Brown, *Op. Cit.*, 1997, p. 354.

¹²⁹ Romila Thapar, *AISH*, 1996, p. 160.

¹³⁰ The legend of Kauśiki coming out from the kośa (muscles) of Pārvati was evidently invented to rationalize the role of the tribal goddess into the frame-work of the Śākta conception the Devi. *Ibid.* pp. 121-122.

¹³¹ N. N. Bhattacharya, *The Indian Mother Goddess*, Manohar, Delhi, 1977, p. 59.

¹³² P. S. Kanaka Durga and Y. A. Sudhakar Reddy, 'Kings, Temples and Legitimation of Autochthonous Communities', *JESHO*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 157-158.

¹³³ Romila Thapar, *Op. Cit.*, 1996, p. 162.

CHART IV

PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS AND BELIEFS- PHASE 1 (6TH -10TH CENTURIES AD)

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XI
S.No	Inscription / King/ Dyn.	PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS				BELIEF SYSTEMS			Gifts	Festivals	TYPE	References
		Sacrifices	Know.Sys.	Analogies		Rel.Titles	Worship	Boons				
				Gods	Epic Heroes							
1.	Badami Ins. Pulakeśi I (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	---	---	---	Hiraṇyagarbh a	---	I	El, 1947-48, pp. 4-9 XXVII,
2.	Badami Ins. Maṅgaleśa (BCD)	AGT, AC, VP, PD, BS, ASM	---	---	---	---	Viṣṇu	Śaktitraya Sampanna h	---	---	I	IA, III, 1874, pp. 305-6
3.	Mahakuta Ins. Maṅgaleśa (BCD)	-do-	King= Brhaspati, Uśanas	Ancestor= Kubera in ◊; Vāsudeva in virtuousness King=Akhaṇḍa la (Indra) in ◊; Viṣṇu in ◊	King = Yudhiṣṭhira in ◊; Śibi in *; Sāgara in ◊; Māndhātṛ & Pṛthu in endurance	---	God Bhagavat (Viṣṇu), God Brahmā	---	Hiraṇyagarbh a	---	I	IA, XIX, 1890, pp. 7-20
4.	Nerur Ins. Maṅgaleśa (BCD)	-do	(F) of king= Brhaspati	---	---	PB, PBR	---	---	---	---	I	IA, VII, 1878, pp. 161-62.
5.	Haidarabad Ins. Pulakeśi II (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	---	☸ ☸ ◊	---	--	I	IA, VI, 1877, pp.72-75
6.	Kandalgam Pls. Pulakeśi II (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	---	☸ ☸ ◊	---	---	I	IA, XIV, 1885, pp. 330-31
7.	Satara Cp. Of KVV. I (ECV)	---	---	---	King = Arjuna in ◊;	---	Swami Mahāsen a	☸ ☸	---	---	I	IA, XIX, 1890, pp.303-11

*Consolidated Key for Abbreviations and Symbols used in this Chart are given at the end of Charts IVB.

S.No	I Inscription / King/ Dyn.	II Sacrifices	III PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys	IV Analogies Gods Epic Heroes	V	VI BELIEF SYSTEMS			IX Gifts	X Festivals	XI TYPE	XII References
						Rel. Titles	Worship	Boons				
8.	Timmapuram Pls. KVV. I (ECV)	---	---	---	---	PB, PBR	God Bhagavat	✠	---	---	I	<i>EI</i> , IX, 1907-08, pp.317-19
9.	Lohaner Pls. of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	BS, ASM, PD, VP	---	---	---	PB	Swami Mahāsena	✠	---	---	I	<i>EI</i> , XXVII, 1947-48, pp. 37-41
10.	Kopparam Pls. of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	---	---	☸ ☸ ☸	---	Mahānavam yam	I	<i>EI</i> , XVIII, pp.257-261
11.	Aihole Ins. of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	---	Lord Jina	---	---	---	II	<i>EI</i> , VI, 1900-1901, pp. 1-12
12.	Yekkeri Pls. of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	---	---	---	Ancestor= Nahuṣa in dignity & ☸	---	---	---	---	---	I	<i>EI</i> , V, 1898-99, pp. 6-9
13.	Chiplun Pls. of Pulakeśin II(BCD)	---	---	---	---	---	God Bhagavat	---	---	---	I	<i>EI</i> , III, 1894-95, pp. 50-53
14.	Lakshmeshwar Pls. of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	---	---	---	---	---	Lord Jina	---	---	---	I	<i>SII</i> , XX, No. 3, BK series, pp. 2-3
15.	Pimpalner Cp. Of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	<i>Rājasūya</i> ASM, PD, BS, VP	---	---	King= Nrga, Nala, Nahuṣa etc., in fame	---	---	✠	---	---	I	<i>IA</i> , IX, 1880, pp.293-96
16.	Tummeyanuru Grant of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	I	<i>CPIAPGM</i> , I, 1962, pp. 40-45
17.	Nerur Cp. Of Pulakeśi II (BCD)	BS, ASM (*lost)	---	---	---	---	Viṣṇu in boar form	---	---	---	I	<i>IA</i> , VIII, 1879, pp. 43-44
18.	Chipurupalle pls. of KVV. I (ECV)	---	King= Bṛhaspati, Manu	---	King= Kāmadhenu in *; Pṛthu in endurance	PBR	---	---	---	---	I	<i>IA</i> , XX, 1891, pp. 15-18.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
S.No	Inscription / King/ Dyn.	PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS				BELIEF SYSTEMS			Gifts	Festivals	TYPE	References
		Sacrifices	Know.Sys	Gods	Analogies Epic Heroes	Rel. Titles	Worship	Boons				
19.	Mundakallu Ins. of Āḍityavarman (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	卐 卐 卐	Hiraṇya garbha	---	I	IA, XI, 1882, pp.66-68.
20.	Nerur Grant of Śrī Vijayabhaṭṭārīka (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	---	---	卐 卐 卐	---	---	I	IA, VII, 1878, pp. 163-164.
21.	Kochre Cp. Of Śrī Vijayabhaṭṭārīka-BCD	ASM	---	---	---	---	---	卐 卐 卐	---	---	I	IA, VIII, 1879, pp.44-47.
22.	Three Grants of Jayasimha I (ECV) Grant A	ASM	---	---	---	PBR	Swāmi Bhaṭṭāraka	---	---	---	I	EI, XXXI, 1955-56, pp. 129-33
23.	Grant B	ASM	King= Brhaspati, Manu, Yudhiṣṭhira in dharma	---	King= Airāvata in *	PBR	Swāmi Māhasena	卐 卐	---	---	I	Ibid. pp. 133-36
24.	Grant C	ASM	---	---	---	PBR	-do-	卐 卐	---	---	I	Ibid. pp. 136-38
25.	Amudalapadu Pls. of Vikramāditya I(BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	卐 卐 卐	---	---	I	EI, XXXII, 1957, pp. 175-184
26.	Pedda-Maddali Pls. of Jayasimha I (ECV)	ASM	---	King= Viṣṇu in ☺	King= Airāvata in *; Drōṇa in ☺	PBR	Swāmi Mahāsena	卐 卐	---	---	I	IA, XIII, 1884, pp. 137-139
27.	Talamanchi Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	卐 卐 卐	---	---	I	EI, IX, 1907-08, pp. 98-102





































5.No	I Inscription / King/ Dyn.	II Sacrifices	III PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys	IV Analogies Gods	V Epic Heroes	VI REL. TITLES Rel. Titles	VII Worship	VIII Boons	IX Gifts	X Festivals	XI TYPE	XII References
28.	Racchamari Grant of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	---	Viṣṇu in boar form	卐 ❀ ☸	---	---	I	EA, VI, 1994, pp.1-5
29.	Pulibumra Pls. of Jayasimha I (ECV)	ASM	King= Brhas- pati, Manu	---	King= Arjuna in ❀; Yudhiṣṭhira in ❀	PBR	---	❀	---	---	I	EI, XIX, 1927- 28, pp.254-258
30.	Uchchat thei Grant of Jayasimha I (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PBR	---	❀	---	---	I	EA, V, 1988, pp. 18-20; 24-25
31.	Pedda- Vegi Pls. of Jayasimha I (ECV)	ASM	---	King=Kārṣṇa ya in ❀; Viṣṇu in ❀	King= Bhīma in ❀; Yudhiṣṭhira in ❀; Airāvata in * etc.	---	---	❀	---	---	I	EI, XIX, 1927- 28, pp.258-261
32.	Niduparu Grant of Jayasimha I (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	---	Swāmi Mahāsena	❀	---	---	I	EI, XVIII, 1925- 26, pp.55-58
33.	Reyuru Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II (ECV)	ASM	King= Manu	---	---	---	Maheśvara	卐 ❀ ☸	---	---	I	IA, VII, 1878, pp.185-191
34.	Koneki Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	---	Swāmi Mahāsena	❀	---	---	II	EI, XXXI, 1955- 56, pp. 74-80.
35.	Kurtakoti Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	卐 ❀ ☸	---	---	I	IA, VII, 1878, pp.217-220
36.	Haidarabad Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	卐 ❀ ☸	---	---	I	IA, VI, 1877, pp.75-78
37.	Kolhapuram Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	卐 ❀ ☸	---	---	I	EA, IV, 1975, pp. 9-12

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
S.No	Inscription / King/ Dyn.	Sacrifices	PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS		BELIEF SYSTEMS			Gifts	Festivals	TYPE	References	
			Know.Sys	Analogies	Rel. Titles	Worship	Boons					
				Gods								Epic Heroes
38.	Kondanaguru Pls. of Indravarmān (ECV)	ASM	---	King= Viṣṇu & Rāma in ☉	King= Manmadha & Kubera in ☉	---	Swāmi Mahāsenā	☸ ☉ ✕	---	---	I	ET, XVIII, 1925- 26, pp.1-5
39.	Pallivada Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana II (ECV)	ASM	---	King= Viṣṇu in ☉	---	---	---	☸ ☸ ☉	---	---	I	IA, VII, 1878, pp.191-92
40.	Pamdimukkala Gr. A of Viṣṇuvardhana II	ASM	---	King= Indra in ☉; Vaiśrā- vaṇa in ☉	---	---	Swāmi Mahāsenā	☸ ☉ ✕	---	---	I	Śāṅkaram, 2000, pp. 71- 76
41.	Chendalur grant of Maṇḍi Yūvarāja(ECV)	ASM	---	King= Viṣṇu in ☉	---	---	Swāmi Mahāsenā	☸ ☸	---	---	I	ET, VIII, 1905- 06, pp.236-241
42.	Gadval Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	ASM	---	King is above Gods like Maheśvara etc. in ☉	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	☸ ☸ ☉	---	---	I	ET, X, 1909-10, pp.100-106
43.	Velnallī Grant of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	-do-	☸ ☸ ☉	---	---	I	CPIAPGM, I, 1962, pp. 46- 53
44.	Savnur Pls. of Vikramāditya I (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	-do-	☸ ☸ ☉	---	---	I	ET, XXVII,1947, pp.115-119
45.	Pamdimukkala Grant B of Viṣṇuvardhana II (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	---	Swami Mahāsenā	☸ ☸	---	---	I	Śāṅkaram, Delhi, 2000, pp. 71-76
46.	Paniyal Grant of Vinayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	---	Viṣṇu in boar form	☸ ☸ ☉	---	---	II	CPIAPGM, I, 1962, pp.58-63

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VI II	IX	X	XI	XII
S.No	Inscription / King/ Dyn.	Sacrifices	PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys	Analogies Gods	Epic Heroes	Rel. Titles	Worship	Boons	Gifts	Festivals	TYPE	References
47.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	-do-	☸ ☸ ☸	---	---	II	SII, XX, 1988, pp.3-4
48.	Jejuri Pls. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	King= Kārṭikeya & Paraśurāma in ☸	King= Bharata & Yudhiṣṭhira in ☸	PS	-do-	☸ ☸ ☸	---	---	II	EI, XIX, pp. 62- 65
49.	Togushode Cp. Of Vinayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	-do-	☸ ☸ ☸	---	---	II	IA, VI, 1877, pp. 85-88
50.	Poona pls. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	-do-	☸ ☸ ☸	---	---	II	EI, XXV, 1939, pp.289-291
51.	Sorab Pls. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	-do-	☸ ☸ ☸	---	Dakṣiṇāyan a	II	IA, XIX, 1890, pp.146-152
52.	Dayyamdinne Pls. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	-do-	☸ ☸ ☸	---	---	II	EI, XXII, 1936, pp.24-29
53.	Musuniparu Pls. of Vinayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	-do-	☸ ☸ ☸	---	Dakṣiṇāyan a kāle	II	IA, VI, 1877, pp. 88-91
54.	Kirukagamasi Grant of Vinayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	-do-	☸ ☸ ☸	---	---	II	IA, VII, 1878, pp.300-303
55.	Mayalur Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	Ancestor= Indra & Kārṭikeya in ☸	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	☸ ☸ ☸	---	Agnikārya nimitte	II	EI, XXXIII, 1954, pp.311- 14
56.	Nerur Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	-do-	---	PS	-do-	☸ ☸ ☸	---	---	II	IA, 1880, pp.125-130
57.	Rayagad Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	-do-	---	PS	-do-	☸ ☸ ☸	---	---	II	EI, X, 1909-10, pp. 14-17

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
S.No	Inscription / King/ Dyn.	Sacrifices	PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys	Analogy Gods	Epic Heroes	Rel. Titles	Worship	Boons	Gifts	Festivals	TYPE	References
58.	Nerur Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	-do-	---	PS	-do-	卐 ❁ ☉	---	---	II	IA, IX, 1880, pp. 130-132
59.	Shiggaon Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	-do-	---	PS	-do-	卐 ❁ ☉	---	---	II	EI, XXXII, 1957, pp.317-324
60.	Copper Pls. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	-do-	---	PS	-do-	卐 ❁ ☉	---	---	II	EI, XXVI, 1941-42, pp. 322-36
61.	Alampur Ins. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	II	EI, XXXV, 1963, pp. 121-123. CITD, IV, 1973, pp.3-4
62.	Penukaparu Grant of Jayasimha II (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	---	Swāmi Mahāsena	卐 ❁	---	Samkrānti kāle	I	EI, XVIII, 1925, pp. 313-316
63.	Chendara Grant of Jayasimha II (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	---	Swāmi Mahāsena	卐 ❁	---	Vishṇupāda nimite	I	EA, V, 1988, pp.20-21, 25-27
64.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	Ancestor=Indra & Kārṭikeya in ☉	---	PS	Lord Jina	卐 ❁ ☉	---	---	II	SII, XX, BK Series, 1988, pp.4-5
65.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vijayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	-do-	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	卐 ❁ ☉	---	---	II	Ibid. pp. 6-7
66.	A Grant of Vijayāditya (BCD)	ASM	---	-do-	---	PS	-do-	卐 ❁ ☉	---	---	II	EI, XXV, 1939, pp.21-24

S.No	I Inscription / King/ Dyn.	II Sacrifices	III PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys	IV Analogies Gods	V Epic Heroes	VI REL. TITLES Rel. Titles	VII Worship	VIII Boons	IX Gifts	X Festivals	XI TYPE	XII References
67.	Ipur Pls. of Viṣṇu- vardhana III (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	---	---	☸ ☸ ☸	---	---	I	<i>EI</i> , XVIII, 1925, pp.58-60
68.	Musinikonda Ins. of Viṣṇuvardhana III (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	FBR	Swāmi Mahāsena	☸ ☸ ☸	---	---	I	<i>JAHRs</i> , XVI, 1945, pp.48-49
69.	Nerur Pls. of Vikram-āditya II (BCD)	ASM	---	Ancestor=Indr a & Kārṭikeya in ☸	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	☸ ☸ ☸	---	---	II	<i>IA</i> , IX, 1880, pp.133-135
70.	Bondada Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana III (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	---	Swāmi Mahāsena	☸ ☸	---	---	I	<i>EA</i> , VI, 1994, pp.13-17
71.	Kondakariplola Grant. of Viṣṇuvardhana III (ECV)	ASM	---	King= Sun in ☸; Viṣṇu in ☸	---	---	-do-	☸ ☸	---	---	I	<i>EA</i> , V, 1988, pp.21-23; 27- 29
72.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vikramāditya II (BCD)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	☸ ☸ ☸	---	---	II	<i>SII</i> , XX, BK Series, 1988, pp. 7-8
73.	Narwan Pls. of Vikramāditya II(BCD)	ASM	---	Ancestor=Indr a & Kārṭikeya in ☸	---	PS	-do-	☸ ☸ ☸	---	---	II	<i>EI</i> , XXVII, 1947-48, pp.125-131
74.	Kendur Pls. of Kīrtivarmaṇ II (BCD)	ASM	---	-do-	---	PS	-do-	☸ ☸ ☸	---	---	II	<i>EI</i> , IX, 1907- 08, pp. 200-06
75.	Pattadakal Ins. of Kīrtivarmaṇ II (BCD)	---	---	---	King= Bhīma in ☸; Karṇa in *	PS	Lord Śiva	---	---	---	I	<i>EI</i> , III, 1894- 95, pp.1-7

S.No	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
	Inscription / King/ Dyn.	Sacrifices	PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys	Analogies Gods	Epic	Rel. Titles	Worship	Boons	Gift	Festivals	TYPE	References
		Heroes										
76.	Vokkaleri Pls. of Kirtivarman II (BCD)	ASM	---	Ancestor=Indra & Kārtikeya in 	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	  	---	---	II	IA, VIII, 1879, pp.23-29
77.	Alluvalu Grant of Vijayāditya I (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PMS, PBR	Swāmi Mahāseṇa	  	---	---	I	EA, III, 1974, pp.1-5;
78.	Tenali Pls. of Vijayāditya I (ECV)	ASM	---	King=Kārtikeya in 	King= Bhīma in 	PS, PMS, PBR	---	  	---	---	I	Ibid. pp. 297-300
79.	CP Grant A Vijayāditya I (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PMS, PBR	Swāmi Mahāseṇa	  	---	---	I	JAHS, V, 1930, pp.51-56
80.	CP Grant B	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PMS, PBR	Swāmi Mahāseṇa	  	---	---	I	Ibid.
81.	Ederu Pls. of Vijayāditya II (ECV)	ASM	---	King=Viṣṇu, Sun in  ; Viṣṇu in 	King= Bhīma in  ; Yudhiṣṭhira in 	PS	---	 	---	---	I	EI, V, 1898-99, pp. 118-142
82.	Varppomgu Pls. of Vijayāditya II (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	Swāmi Mahāseṇa	  	---	---	I	EA, III, 1974, pp. 5-7
83.	Korraparru Grant of Vijayāditya II (ECV)	ASM	King=Manu	King=Viṣṇu, Yama & Sun in 	King= Bhīma & Arjuna in  ; Nṛga, Nala, etc., in fame; Rāma in 	PS	---	  	---	---	I	SII, I, 1892, (Rpt 1987) pp. 31-36
84.	Permajili Grant of Viṣṇuvardhana V (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PMS, PBR	Swāmi Mahāseṇa	  	---	---	I	ARE, 1911-14, pp.85-86

S.No	I Inscription / King/ Dyn.	II Sacrifices	III PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys	IV Analogies Gods	V Epic Heroes	VI Rel. Titles	VII Worship	VIII Boons	IX Gifts	X Festivals	XI TYPE	XII References
85.	Ahadanakaram Pls. of Viṣṇuvardhana V (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PMS, PBR	-do-	✕ ⊕ ✕	Tulapurūṣa dāna	---	I	IA, XIII, 1884, pp. 185-187
86.	Masulipatnam Pls. of GV. III (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	---	-do-	✕ ⊕ ✕	---	---	I	EI, V, 1898-99, pp. 122-126
87.	Sataluru CP. Of GV. III (ECV)	ASM	---	---	King= Pṛthu in endurance.	---	-do-	✕ ⊕ ✕	---	---	II	JAHS, V, 1930, pp. 101-116
88.	Chimbuluru Ins. of GV. III (ECV)	ASM	King and his father proficient in various fields of knowledge	---	---	---	-do-	✕ ⊕ ✕	---	---	II	EA, III, 1974, pp. 6-15
89.	Kakumranu Ins. of CB. I (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	---	-do- & Lord Nārāyaṇa	✕ ⊕ ✕	---	---	II	ĒA, III, 1974, pp. 162-168
90.	Moga Grant of CB. I (ECV)	ASM	King=Brhaspati	King= Sūrya in ☯ & Pṛthu in endurance	---	PS, PMS	-do-	✕ ⊕ ✕	---	---	II	EA, III, 1974, pp. 28-42
91.	Telugu Academy Pls. of CB. I (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PMS	Lord Nārāyaṇa	✕ ⊕ ✕	---	---	II	JBORS, VIII, 1922, pp.83-98
92.	Bezvada Pls. of CB. I (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PMS	---	✕ ⊕ ✕	---	---	II	EI, V, 1898-99, pp.127-131
93.	Masulipatnam Pls. of Amma I (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	---	Lord Śiva	✕ ⊕ ✕	---	---	II	Ibid. pp.131- 134
94.	Ederu Pls. of Amma I (ECV)	ASM	King=Brhaspati	King= Sūrya in ☯ & Pṛthu in endurance	---	---	-do-	✕ ⊕ ✕	---	---	II	IA, II, 1873, pp. 175-76; IA, XIII, 1884, pp.51-52

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
S.N o	Inscription / King/ Dyn.	Sacrifices	PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys	Analogies Gods	Epic Heroes	Rel. Titles	Worship	Boons	Gifts	Festivals	TYPE	References
95.	Chevuru Pls. of Amma I (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PMS	Maheśvara & Swāmi Mahāseṇa	✕ ⊕ ✕	---	---	I	<i>EI</i> , XXVII, 1947, pp.41-47
96.	Velambarru Grant of Amma I (ECV)	ASM	---	King= Indra & Sūrya in ☺	---	PMS, PBR	Lord Nārāyaṇa	✕ ⊕ ✕	---	Dakṣiṇāyan a Saṃkrānti	II	<i>EA</i> , III, 1974, pp. 43-46.
97.	Masulipatnam Pls. of CB. II (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PBR	Svāmi Mahāseṇa	✕ ⊕ ✕	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	II	<i>EI</i> , V, 1898-99, pp.134-139
98.	Paganavaram Pls. of CB. II (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PBR	-do-	✕ ⊕ ✕	---	---	II	<i>IA</i> , XIII, 1884, pp.213-215
99.	Varanaendi Ins. of CB. II (ECV)	---	---	---	---	PS, PBR	-do-	✕ ⊕ ✕	---	---	II	<i>Bhārati</i> , 1965, pp.24-38
100.	Kolipara Pls. of Arikeśari I (CV)	---	King proficient in grammar, law, medicine, etc.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	II	N.Venkatarama nayya, CV, 1953, pp. 73- 81.
101.	Maliyampudi Grant of Amma II (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	Lord Jina	✕ ⊕ ✕	---	Uttarāyaṇa Puṇya kāle	II	<i>EI</i> , IX, 1907- 08, pp. 47-56
102.	Vemulavada Pls. of Arikeśari II (CV)	---	---	---	---	---	Sun God	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	II	N.Venkatraman ayya, Op. cit., 1953, pp.82-92
103.	Vemulavada Pls. of Arikeśari II (CV)	---	---	---	---	---	Sun God	---	---	---	II	<i>IAP</i> , Karimnagar Dt., A. R. No. 46. 1969, pp.1-5

S.No	I Inscription / King/ Dyn.	II Sacrifices	III PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys	IV Analogies Gods	V Epic Heroes	VI REL. TITLES Rel. Titles	VII Worship	VIII Boons	IX Gifts	X Festivals	XI TYPE	XII Reference s
104.	Kaluchumbarru Grant of Amma II (ECV)	ASM	---	Ancestor = Viṣṇu in Vāmanāvatara King = Indra & Sūrya in ☞	GF = Kārṇa in * ; F = Kubera in ☞	PS	Svāmi Mahāsena	☞ ☞ ☞	---	Dakṣiṇāyana a puṇya kālam	II	ET, VII, 1902- 03, pp.178- 192
105.	Padamkaluru Grant of Amma II (ECV)	ASM	---	King = Indra & Sūrya in ☞	Kingdomng= Arjuna in ☞; Kamādhenu in *	PS	-do-	☞ ☞ ☞	---	Kārpāṭika Vrata	II	IA, VII, 1878, pp.15-19
106.	Yelavaruru Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	ASM	---	King = Indra & Sūrya in ☞	---	PS	Svāmi Mahāsena	☞ ☞ ☞	---	---	II	IA, XII, 1883, pp.91-95
107.	Masulipatnam Grant of Amma II (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	-do-	☞ ☞ ☞	---	---	II	IA, VIII, 1879, pp. 73-76
109.	A Newly Discovered Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	ASM	---	King = Indra & Sūrya in ☞	---	PS	-do-	☞ ☞ ☞	---	---	II	JAHS, XX, 1949-50, pp.195-210.
110.	Pamulavaka Cp of Amma II (ECV)	ASM	---	-do-	---	PS	-do-	☞ ☞ ☞	---	---	II	JAHS, II, 1928, pp. 242- 249
111.	Tandikonda Grant of Amma II (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	-do- & Lord Śiva	☞ ☞ ☞	---	Uttarāyana Samkrānti	II	ET, XXIII, 1935, pp.161- 70
112.	Vemalurpadu Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	---	-do-	☞ ☞ ☞	---	Uttarāyana puṇya kālam	II	ET, XVIII, 1925, pp.227- 235





I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	
S.No	Inscription / King/ Dyn.	Sacrifices	PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys	Analogies Gods	Epic Heroes	Rel. Titles	Worship	Boons	Gifts	Festivals	TYPE	References
113.	Nammuru Grant of Amma II (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	-do-	☸ ☉ ☿	---	Uttarāyaṇa puṇya kālam	II	EI, XII, 1913-14, pp.61-64
114.	Parabhani Pls. of Arikēṣari III (CV)	---	---	---	GF= Bhīma in ☮	---	Lord Jina	---	---	---	II	N.Venkatarama nayya, Op. cit., 1953, pp. 92-7
115.	Vandram Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PBR	Svāmi Mahāseṇa	☸ ☉ ☿	---	---	II	EI, IX, 190, pp. 131-35
116.	Mangallu Pls. of Amma II (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PBR	-do- & Lord Śrīkāṇṭha (Śiva)	☸ ☉ ☿	---	Kārpati vrata	II	EA, I, 1969, pp. 57-70
117.	Kandyam Pls. of Dānarnava (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PBR	Svāmi Mahāseṇa	☸ ☉ ☿	---	---	II	JAHS, XI, 1938, pp.80-88
118.	Saudatti Ins. of Taila II (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	SII, XX, BK Series, 1988, pp. 15-17
119.	Nilgund Ins. of Taila II (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	---	---	---	IV	EI, IV, 1896-97, pp.204-208
120.	Hosur Ins. of Taila II (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	SII, XI, BK Series, 1986, pp. 32-34.

CHART IV

PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS AND BELIEFS- PHASE 2 (11TH -12TH CENTURIES AD)






														XI	XII
I		II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	TYP E	References			
S.No	Inscription/ King/ Dyn.	Sacrifices	Know.Sys	PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Analogies		Rel.Titles	BELIEF SYSTEMS Worship	Boons	Gifts	Festivals					
				Gods	Epic Heroes										
1.	Yali Sirur Ins. of Satyāśraya (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>SI</i> , XI, BK Series, 1986, pp. 39-43			
2.	Lakkundi Ins. of Satyāśraya (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Lord Jina	---	---	Nandiśvarāṣ ṭami	IV	<i>Ibid.</i> pp.36-38			
3.	Hottur Ins. of Satyāśraya (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVI, 1921- 22, pp.73-75.			
4.	Kauthem Pls. of Vikramāditya V (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	☸ ☺	---	---	III	<i>IA</i> , XVI, 1887, pp.15-24			
5.	Sudi Ins. of Vikramāditya V (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XV, 1919- 1920, pp.75-77			
6.	Alur Ins. of Vikramāditya V (KC)	---	MMD= Brahma in skill; Kauṭīlya & Bṛhaspati	---	MMD= Garuḍa in ☺	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVI, 1921- 22, pp. 75-77			
7.	Ranastipundi Pls. of Vimalāditya (ECV)	ASM	---	King= Śiva & Rāma ☺;	King=Paraśurā ma, Manmadha, Sūrya and Sahadeva in ☺	PS	Svāmi Mahāśena	☸☸☺☺	---	---	III	<i>EI</i> , VI, 1900- 01, pp. 348- 361			

*Consolidated Key for abbreviations and symbols used in this are given at the end of this Chart.

S.No	I Inscription / King/ Dyn.	II Sacrifices	III PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys	IV Gods	V Analogies Epic Heroes	VI Rel. Titles	VII BELIEF SYSTEMS Worship	VIII Boons	IX Gifts	X Festivals	XI TYPE	XII References
8.	Chilkur Ins. of Vikramāditya V (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Lord Jina	---	---	---	IV	EA, II, pp. 50-55
9.	Kotavumachgi Ins. of Vikramāditya V (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	FI, XX, 1929-30, pp. 64-70
10.	Balagamve Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	---	---	F = Hari in 	F = Kārtavīryārjuna & Rāma in 	PS	---	---	---	-do-	III	IA, V, 1876, pp. 15-19
11.	Korumelli Plates of Rājarāja I (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PBR	Svāmi Mahāseṇa		---	Uttara Bhadrikāyam	III	IA, XIV, 1885, pp.48-55
12.	Belur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	IA, XVIII, 1839, pp. 270- 75.
13.	Ron Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	-do-	IV	EI, XIX, 1928, pp.222-226
14.	Miraj Pls. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form		---	---	III	EI, XII, 1913-14, pp. 303-15
15.	Marol Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Lord Jina	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	SII, XI, 1986, pp. 50-51
16.	Heggur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	SII, XI, 1986, pp. 51-52
17.	Kulenur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	EI, XV, 1919-20, pp. 329-34
18.	Hosur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Lord Jina	---	---	-do-	IV	SII, XI, 1986, pp. 55-56

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
S.No	Inscription / King/ Dyn.	PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS	Know.Sys	Gods	Analogies Epic Heroes	Rel. Titles	Worship	Boons	Gifts	Festivals	TYPE	References
19.	Kalidindi Ins. of Rājarāja I (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PBR	Svāmi Mahāsenā	✠✠✠	---	Uttarāyaṇa bhadrāyaṇa	III	EI, XXIX, 1951-52, pp. 57-71
20.	Pamulavaka Ins. Vijayāditya VII (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS	-do-	✠✠✠	---	---	III	JAHS, II, 1928, pp. 277-289
21.	Saidapur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Lord Jina	---	---	---	IV	EA, VI, 1994, pp. 37-42
22.	Gadag Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	EI, XIX, 1928-29, pp. 217-22
23.	Hottur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	EI, XVI, 1921-22, pp. 75-81
24.	Hulgur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	Ibid. pp. 332-337
25.	Sirur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	EI, XV, 1919-20, pp. 334-36
26.	Mantur Ins. of Jagadekamalla I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	JA, XIX, 1890, pp. 161-165
27.	Huli Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Lord Jina	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	EI, XVIII, 1923, pp. 172-178
28.	Mugad Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Lord Jina	---	---	---	IV	SII, XI, 1986, pp. 68-72
29.	Kolur Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	LP= Visnu in ॐ	LP= Paraśurāma, Drōṇāchārya & Āñjaneya in ॐ	PS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	EI, XIX, 1924, pp. 180-183
30.	Kilaratti Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Makara Saṃkrānti	IV	EI, XXXV, 1963, pp. 37-39

S.No	I Inscription / King/ Dyn.	II Sacrifices	III PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys	IV Gods	V Analogies Epic Heroes	VI Rel. Titles	VII Worship	VIII BELIEF SYSTEMS Boons	IX Gifts	X Festivals	XI TYPE	XII References
31.	Arasibidi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVII, 1923, pp.121-123
32.	Bagevadi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>SII</i> , XI, 1986, pp. 75-76.
33.	Sudi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XV, 1919-20, pp.77-80
34.	Mallesvaram Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	Āṇānda Tīrtha Snāna nimitam	IV	<i>EI</i> , XXXV, 1963, pp.253-260
35.	Niralgi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVI, pp.66- 68
36.	Nandamapundi Ins. of Rājarāja I (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PBR	Svāmi Mahāsen a	卐	---	Uttara Bha- drikāyam	III	<i>EI</i> , IV, 1896-97, pp.300-309
37.	Mulgund Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Lord Jina	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	<i>EI</i> , XVI, 1920- 21, pp. 52-57
38.	Manda Ins. of Rājarāja I (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PBR	Svāmi Mahāsen a	卐	---	---	III	N. Venkataram- anayya, <i>PC</i> , 1969, pp.439-46
39.	Kelavadi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	<i>EI</i> , IV, 1896-97, pp.259-262
40.	Sanigaram Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>IAP</i> , Karimnagar Dt. Ins. No. 15, pp.38-42.
41.	Sudi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	<i>EI</i> , XV, 1919-20, pp.80-83

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
S.No	Inscription / King/ Dyn.	Sacrifices	PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys	Gods	Analogies Epic Heroes	Rel. Titles Boons	Worship		Gifts	Festivals	TYPE	References
42.	Honwad Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Lord Jina	---	---	---	IV	IA, XIX, 1890, pp.268-275.
43.	Sudi Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	MS= Karṇa in  ; Āṇjaneya in purity	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	---	---	---	IV	EI, XV, 1919-20, pp. 85-94
44.	Telugu Academy pls. of Śaktivarman II (ECV)	ASM	F= Manu & Bhārgava in character & wisdom	F= Hari & Sūrya in 	F= Dharmarāja in 	PS, PMS, PBR	Svāmi Mahāśena		---	---	III	JAHS, V, 1930, pp. 33-49
45.	Marasanhalli Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	SII, XX, BKSeries, 1988, pp. 45-46
46.	Hottur Ins. of Someśvara I (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	EI, XVI, 1920-21 pp. 81-88
47.	Panchalingala Ins. of Someśvara II	---	---	---	---	PS, PMS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	EI, XXXVI, 1965, pp. 139-145
48.	Belgam Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS, PMS	Śambhu (Śiva)	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	IA, I, 1872, pp. 141-142
49.	Rugi Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS, PMS	---	---	---	Dakṣiṇāyana & Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	SII, XX, 1988, pp. 48-49
50.	Gawarwad Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	---	MMD= Chāṇakya in prudence	MMD= Maheśvara among nobles	MMD= Garuḍa pārtha & Vṛkod-ara in  ; Mānd-hātr in fame	PS, PMS	Lord Jina	---	---	---	IV	EI, XV, 1919-20, pp. 337-347
51.	Bichapalli Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS, PMS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	EI, XXXVI, 1965, pp. 69-74

S.No	I Inscription / King/ Dyn.	II Sacrifices	III PAN-INDIAN Know.Sys	IV ANALOGIES Gods Epic Heroes		VI Rel. Titles	VII BELIEF SYSTEMS Worship		VIII Boons	IX Gifts	X Festivals	XI TYPE	XII References
52.	Bijapur Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	---	MS= Brhaspati	---	MS= Āñjaneya in purity; Yudhiṣṭhira in ॐ	PS, PMS	Śambhu (Śiva)	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	IA, X, 1881, pp. 126-131
53.	Two New Cp. Of Vijayāditya VII (ECV) CP. No. 8	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PBR	Svāmi Mahāseṇa	✠✠✠	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa	III	JAHS, IX, 1934, pp. 24- 35
54.	CP. No. 9	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PBR	-do-	✠✠✠	---	---	-do-	III	Ibid.
55.	Nirālgi Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS, PMS	---	---	---	---	---	IV	EI, XVI, pp. 68- 73
56.	Devageri Ins. of Someśvara II (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS, PMS	Śambhu (Śiva)	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti vyatipātam	IV	EI, XIX, pp. 183-187
57.	Kallasambi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	---	IV	CPIAPGM, I, 1962, pp. 74- 87
58.	Hulgur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Śambhu (Śiva)	---	---	---	Saṃkrānti	IV	EI, XVI, 1921- 22, pp. 330- 332
59.	Yewur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	Pul. I= Keśi (Viṣṇu) in ॐ; King= Śiva	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	ॐ	---	---	---	III	EI, XII, pp.269- 291, IA, VIII, 1879, pp.10-21
60.	Chellur Grant of Vīrachōḍa (ECV)	ASM	---	GF= Puram- dara (Indra) in ॐ; Viṣṇu in ॐ	GF= Bhīma in ॐ;	PS, Rāja Parameśv ara	Svāmi Mahāseṇa	✠✠✠	---	---	---	III	SII, I, pp. 51- 62

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
SNo	Inscription / King/ Dyn.	Sacrifices	PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys	Analogies Gods	Rel.Titles	Worship	Boons	Gifts	Festivals	TYPE	References
61.	Pithapuram Pls. of Vīrachōḍa (ECV)	ASM	---	-do-	-do-	PS, Rāja Parameśv ara PS	-do-	卐	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	III	Et, V, 1898-99, pp.70-96
62.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	MS= Indra & Bālin in *; King's brother = Indra & Maheśvara in	MS= Vṛkodara & pārtha in ; King's brother= Kārṇa in ; Nala, Nahuṣa etc., in fame	Lord Jina	---	---	Vyatīpātam	IV	Et, XVI, 1921-22, pp.58-66
63.	Huli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	Et, XVIII, pp.178-182
64.	Tidgundi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	MMD= Varāha in	MMD= Yudhiṣṭhira & Karṇa in ; Nala, Nahuṣa etc., in fame	PS	-do-	---	---	IV	Et, III, 1894, pp.306-11, IA, I, 1872, pp.80-4
65.	Sudi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI	---	---	King= Nārāyaṇa incarnate	---	PS	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	Et, XV, 1919-20, pp. 100-103
66.	Teki Plates of Kulōṭṭiṅga Chōḍa Gaṅga I (ECV)	ASM	King= Agastya in knowledge	---	King= Bhārgava, Rāma, Bhīma in ;	PS, Rāja Parameśv ara	Svāmi Mahāseṇa	卐	---	III	Et, VI, 1900-01, pp. 334-347.
67.	Kolur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	IV	Et, XIX, pp. 189-191
68.	Sitabaldi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	IV	Et, III, 1894, pp. 304-306
69.	Alur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI	---	---	Pul.I= Keśi (Viṣṇu) in	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	卐	---	III	IA, VIII, 1879, pp. 21-23

S.No	I Inscription / King/ Dyn.	II Sacrifices	III PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys		IV Analogies Gods Epic Heroes	V	VI Rel. Titles	VII BELIEF SYSTEMS Worship		VIII Boons	IX Gifts	X Festivals	XI TYPE	XII References
70.	Balagamve Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	---	PS	Śambhu (Śiva)	---	---	---	---	IV	IA, V, 1876, pp. 342-344
71.	Dombal Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	---	PS	Buddha	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	IA, X, 1881, pp. 185-190
72.	Huli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form, Śambhu, Harihara, Nārāyaṇa	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	EI, XVIII, pp. 182-189
73.	Gadag Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	---	III	EI, XV, 1919- 20, pp. 348- 364
74.	Ganeshwadi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	---	IV	EI, XXXVIII, 1970 pp. 289- 304
75.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	King= Indra in magnific ence	MS= Yudhishtira in Meru in pride	---	PS	Śambhu (Śiva)	---	---	---	---	IV	EI, XVI, 1921- 22, pp. 31-35
76.	Huli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	---	PS	Śambhu (Śiva)	---	---	---	Uttarāyana Saṃkrānti	IV	EI, XVIII, pp.189-196
77.	Bairanipalli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	---	PS	Lord Jina	---	---	---	---	IV	CITD, 1973, pp. 14-18
78.	Yewur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	---	PS	Narasimha	---	---	---	Vyātīpātad	IV	EI, XII, 1913- 14, pp.329-331
79.	Huli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	---	PS	Śambhu (Śiva)	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	EI, XVIII, pp. 196-199
80.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Vikramāditya VI	---	---	---	---	---	PS	-do-	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti a	IV	EI, XVI, 1921- 22, pp. 35-44

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
S.No	Inscription / King/ Dyn.	Sacrifices	PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS Know.Sys.	ANALOGIES Gods	Epic Heroes	REL. TITLES	BELIEF SYSTEMS Worship	Boons	Gifts	Festivals	TYPE	References
81.	Kardugari Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form, Bhāskara & Añdhāsura (Śiva)	---	---	---	IV	IA, X, 1881, pp. 249-255
82.	Yewur Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	EI, XII, 1913-14, pp. 332-333
83.	Sudi Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	III	EI, XV, 1919-20, pp. 105-108
84.	Handarki Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	III	APGAS, No. 9, 1982
85.	Devageri Ins. of Vikramāditya VI	---	---	---	---	PS	Śambhu (Śiva)	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	EI, XIX, 1926, pp. 191-194.
86.	Nilgunda Ins. of Vikramāditya VI	---	---	---	---	PS	Viṣṇu in boar form	☸	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	III	EI, XII, 1913-14, pp. 142-155
87.	Gundlapalli Ins. of Vikramāditya VI	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	EA, IV, 1975, pp. 91-92
88.	Terdal Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	MMD= Brahmā in politics	MMD= Rāma in ⚔	MMD= Karṇa in reputation & Arjuna in ⚔	PS	Lord Jina	---	---	---	III	IA, XIV, 1885, pp.14-26
89.	Momigatti Ins. of Vikramāditya VI (KC)	---	---	MMD= Nārāyaṇa	MMD= Jhampalācharya in ⚔ etc.	PS	Śambhu (Śiva)	---	---	---	IV	EI, XXVII, 1923, pp. 117-120
90.	Devageri Ins. of Sōmēśvara III (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	EI, XIX, pp. 183-187.

S.No	I Inscription / King/ Dyn.	II Sacrifices	III PAN-INDIAN SYMBOLS		V Analogies Epic Heroes	VI Rel. Titles	VII BELIEF SYSTEMS		IX Gifts	X Festivals	XI TYPE	XII References
			Know.Sys	IV Gods			Worship	VIII Boons				
91.	Chittur Plates Kulōḷiṭuṅga Chōḍa- dēva II (ECV)	ASM	---	---	---	---	Svāmi Mahāsena	✠✠✠	---	---	III	IA, XIV, 1885, pp. 55-59
92.	Badami Ins. of Jagadekamalla II (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	---	IV	IA, VI, 1877, pp.139-142
93.	Huli Ins. of Jagadekamalla II (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	---	---	---	Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti	IV	EI, XVIII, pp.172-178
94.	Lakshmeshwar Ins. of Taila III (KC)	---	---	---	---	PS	Śambhu (Śiva)	---	---	---	IV	SII, XX, 1988, pp. 160-161
95.	Krivvaka Ins. of Kusumāditya (MC)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	III	EA, II, 1974, pp.39-49;
96.	Ganapavaram Ins. of Gōkarāja (NC)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	Dakṣiṇāyana Saṃkrānti	III	K.Suryanarayan a, IMCDAP, 1993, p.122
97.	Edarupalli re-issued grant of Viṣṇuvardhana (JC)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PMS, PBR	Svāmi Mahāsena	✠✠✠	---	---	III	Ibid. pp. 60-67
98.	Pithapuram Pillar Ins. of Mallapadeva II (JC)	ASM	---	---	---	PS, PMS, PBR	-do-	✠✠✠	---	---	III	Ibid. pp. 75-80

CONSOLIDATED KEY- CHARTS IVA AND IVB

AC	= Agnichayana
AGT	= Agniṣṭōma
ASM	= Aśvamedha
BS	= Bahusuvāṇa
Know. Sys	= Knowledge Systems
LP	= Local Potentate
MMD	= Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara
MS	= Mahāsāmanta
PB	= Parama Bhāgavata
PBR	= Parama Brāhmaṇya
PD	= Paundārika
PMS	= Parama Maheśvara
PS	= Parameśvara
Rel.	= Religious
VP	= Vājapeya

☺	= Valor; courage
◊	= Wealth and prosperity
✱	= Generosity
☺	= Righteousness
☺	= Affectionate
☺	= Sapta mātribhir abhivardhitānām
☺	= Mātrigaṇa paripālītānām
☺	= Kauśiki vara prasāda labda rājyānā
☺	= Kārtṭikeya parirakṣhitānām
☺	= Svāmi Mahāsenā abhivardhitānām.
☺	= Bhagavan Nārāyaṇa Prasāda samasādhita varahalañchchana.

CHAPTER- VII

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSIONS

Our aim in this thesis has been to juxtapose the modern notion of history that singularly dealt with the linear notion of time, with much more complex notions of time as articulated in both literary and inscriptional source materials used for this study. For this purpose, we have chosen to focus on the genealogies of the ruling elites belonging to various Chalukyan families who ruled over the Deccan, during the entire span of the early medieval period. This study has helped us to effectively argue that genealogical data can be used in writing a social history. In fact, in our view, the main intent of the ruling elite in maintaining these genealogical records was to construct a notion of their past that was based on both memory and history. This study has proved to be challenging primarily because, it helped us to pertinently move away from the genre of writing regional political history to that of the genre of social history at the regional level using the same sources. However, we were able to analyze the nature of sources more effectively to comprehend how these were embedded in various notions of time and therefore, relate the establishment of the political order and its legitimation to its social roots.

In the introductory Chapter entitled **INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES**, we began by delving into theoretical issues pertaining to the definition of genealogy that we broadly accept to define as "records relating to the past where the lineages of families are preserved in a systematic order". Our assertion in this regard, was that genealogies should not be treated merely as family records, but more importantly, as historical narratives that encompass several crucial issues related to historical memory, temporality, and sequential narration of names and actions undertaken by individuals in a rather systematic order. This, therefore, led us to explain first, the co-relation between genealogy and narrative, which we argue, unlike the modern historical narratives, were unique because memory was a central component in them. Implicit to this was the notion of time that, in our view, constituted another central component for the construction of a genealogy. These explanations, it may be underscored

here, enabled us to emphatically assign genealogy a status of a historical source for writing social history.

We posited the above arguments against the views of the Imperialist, Nationalist writers who had suggested that there was a lack of historical sense among the pre-modern Indians. We questioned these assumptions by highlighting recent writings that have re-looked at the issues of how the past has been represented in pre-modern societies. Our endeavor has been in cognizance with writings to uphold a different kind of historical consciousness existed in India before the British initiated the writing of history on the sub-continent. Identifying how these notions of the past were found implicated in the source material of the present study has enabled us to provide a fresh perspective to existing interpretations.

In the second part of this Chapter, we detailed the sources of the present study and also highlighted the significance of the period and area of study. This has been followed by the description of the methodological approach that we have adopted for analysis in the present study. For the first time the all-encompassing information from the *prasastis* has been classified by us in this thesis--the rationale of how this was done is explained in the concluding pages of Chapter I.

In the second Chapter on **HISTORIOGRAPHY**, we began with an interrogation of the modern notion of linear time that has become the central format in presenting all scientific historical narratives today. In this model of history writing in India, first written in the colonial context, the positivist framework provided the lens through which historians tried to render objective 'facts' found in various kinds of Indian material. These early histories based on this method primarily indulged in writing political history for India as a whole. Though, the colonial endeavors led to the creation of a source base the problem created was that later historians used it without questioning.

Therefore, in substantial part of this Chapter we have focused on interrogating how these historiographical trends emerged in the writing of regional history. In this regard, we have first looked at those writings that presented a composite history of the Deccan as a whole without necessarily

identifying separate historical trends for the Andhra or Karnataka regions like those of R. G. Bhandarkar, G. J. Dubreuil and G. Yazadani. We pertinently noted that in all these writings, the history of the region was highlighted only in terms of its political aspect within well-defined chronological parameters. We also interrogated regional histories written by scholars writing within the framework of linguistic regions like Andhra and Karnataka, like those of Chilkuru Veerabhadra Rao, George M. Moraes and B. A. Saletore. Though these scholars used both literary and inscriptional sources to write a history of the people as a whole, they did so within the framework of a dominant political history paradigm. One interesting feature that emerged in these writings was an inclination to write on social history but within the scope of 'caste' or 'kula' drawing on both the textual traditions of the *sastras* and *smrtis* and inscriptions.

It must however, be stated that during the early decades of 20th century a tendency to write caste-based histories became prominent and important and in this context works such as those of Buddharaju Varahalaraju's '*Sri Andhra Ksatriya Vamsa Ratnakaram*', Duvvuri Jagannada Sarma's '*Sri Pusapati Vamsanucharitam*' were forerunners. In them conscious attempts were made to resurrect caste-based histories by retrieving the memories of their glorious past from the epics, *Puranas* and inscriptions of the ancient ruling families of the region. From the perspective of our study we noted that these writings revealed a process of history writing which was confronted with a complex situation, namely, choosing between the indigenous notions of writing history based on memory and tradition or accepting modern methods that emphasized on looking at hard core evidence in sources to write political history in a linear fashion. Suravaram Pratapa Reddy's '*Andhrula Sanghika Caritra*', conceptualized in 1937 but published in 1949, in fact chose to use only literary sources therefore, giving primacy to perceptions of the past rather than providing historical explanations based on inscriptions.

In the post-Independent era, we noted an important shift in the way political history came to be written. Now a tendency to "dynasticize" political history by compiling an in-depth history of individual dynasties became the fashion. However, the tools for doing so remained largely unaltered as set in

pace during the 19th century. We thus surveyed the works of particularly those scholars who wrote on the history of the various Chajukyan families. We found in these descriptions a detailed compilations of political and dynastic history of the Chajukyias focussing on solving all problems of their origin, chronology, succession and so on. However, the use of *prasastis* and the use of genealogical descriptions in them to write social history was not the aim in these works. For the same period dominated by proliferation of dynastic histories social and economic histories began to emerge. In this category, we a review of the works K. Sundaram, A. V. Krishna Murthy, Jyotsna Kamat indicated that the basic method of historical analysis was still determined by the parameters set by political history. Hence, social history, in most of these writings was usually understood in terms of perfunctory statements on caste, food habits, manners, dress customs and the like. No attempt was made to analyze the overarching social formation of the times. Genealogies, it goes without saying found only marginal place in these writings too.

Marxist interpretations for different regions of the Deccan had little impact and were found limited in the writings K. Satyanarayana for Andhra and R. N. Nandi for Karnataka. They made an effective use of inscriptions and effectively initiated the characterization of the social formation of the times as 'feudal'. These studies were important to highlight as they provided an essential background for the present study. However, it was only in the writings of Romila Thapar that genealogies as a source to write social history came to the forefront. She did so by using the puranic sources within an over Indian perspective. The insights provided by the writings of B. D. Chattopadhyaya, Hermann Kulke among others were of considerable value because, for the first time, they used genealogical material to understand the processes of state formation in a regional context. Some of these insights have been the foundations on which we have built our interpretations.

Another set of historical writing reviewed by us in this chapter were those that provided a conceptual shift in the way historian's should address the question of time embedded in indigenous sources and traditions of narrative. Writings of Hermann Kulke, Daud Ali and Velcheru Narayana Rao, Sanjay Subrahmanyam and David Shulman and Cynthia Talbot raised for us valuable

questions on the appropriate method that should be used while handling source materials. Importantly, these writings juxtaposed the modern of history writing with the pre-modern ones, which was also a concern we intend to comprehend more fully through an analysis of Chalukyan inscriptions. Looking at the issues of how the past was represented in pre-modern societies, these endeavors ably refuted the notion that Indians lacked a sense of their past and that "history" as an academic discipline had its origins only in modernity. The over all conclusion in these studies, on the existence of various indigenous methods of history writing in the pre-colonial India, provided the essential backdrop for the main concern in thesis to interrogate existing methods of writing history in different periods and regions of the sub-continent pointing to the existence of multiple historical traditions in pre- modern India.

In Chapter III on **GENEALOGY, TIME AND IDENTITY**, we first focussed on understanding notions of time as they came to be conceptualized and reckoned within the genealogies demarcated for this study. The genealogies were categorized into three broad themes, namely, the mythical genealogies, the semi-historical genealogies and finally, the historical genealogies. To further enhance their differences and also frame this information in terms of changes that took place, four TYPES of genealogies were delineated and described so that their evolutionary and standardized version could be clearly located in time and space. Concomitantly, this reflected on how different families looked at the past and constructed their identities.

Keeping the different TYPES of genealogies as the essential frame mythical genealogies were understood as fabrications of origin myths that were traced to a distant past and therefore, rooted in timelessness embedded in a cyclic notion of time. The semi-historical genealogies were understood as attempts of ruling families' attempts to connect their genealogical linkages with the *Caridravarpasa* or the *Suryavamsa* lineages. The semi-historic events were usually located in a legendary past and hence their descriptions were also essentially rooted in a cyclic notion of time. On the other hand, historical genealogies were understood as those dealing with the narration of the king whose descriptions and details of his ancestors were constructed as genealogies belonging to his immediate past. Historical genealogies were

written within the parameters of linear notions of time as they strictly followed a sequential order of narration. Historical time was often appended with dated time, which was recorded in terms of an era or regnal year of the ruling king. This gave us a clear idea of how a certain linearity of time emerged in the genealogical narratives and the positioning of eras and regnal years in these inscriptions, being authoritative, ensured a place for the king's posterity.

Some of the important findings in the chapter reveal that in Phase 1, the period between the 6th century AD and the 10th century D, in both TYPES I and II the mythical genealogies of the Chalukyan families were simple with no attempt made to explain their origins. Hence, not only the notion of cyclic time appears obscure, but even the articulation of the *brahma-ksatra* identity that was characteristic of the early medieval period remained nebulous. On the other hand, in Phase 2 between the 11th century AD to the 12th century AD, certain changes were discerned. In TYPE III, we three categories of mythical genealogies appeared, which apart from continuing the earlier trend began to refer to the double-gotra status and explain the mythical origins in clearer terms. The origin of the former was connected to the discovery of fire and located in primordial, a-temporal moments thus indicating the presence of a cyclic notion of time. In the case of the latter explanations for the mythical origin of Manavya, Harita, *Cha/ukya varpsa* and *Satyasrayakula* were elaborated upon. These descriptions too clearly indicated the presence of cosmic time implying huge time cycles. Therefore, we concluded that this tendency aimed at giving both antiquity and prestige to the lineage. Importantly, from descriptions of genealogies in this TYPE we were also able to highlight *brahma-ksatra* identity. Though, mythical genealogies were found in both Phases 1 and 2, we clearly discerned a preponderance of the use of cyclic time in Phase 2, which also went hand in hand with firming up identity of these families.

With regard to the semi-historical genealogies described in chapter it is found that they were conspicuously absent in all the TYPES and found only in TYPE III. In this regard, Dynastic variations existed so that while the records of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani emphasized on linkage with the solar lineage, their counterparts in the Eastern Deccan highlighted their linkage with both the *Candravarpsa* lineage and with the *Suryavarpsa* lineage. This, we suggested,

purported to an important way of conceptualizing mythical or cyclic time. Another way through which time reckoning has been done in this type of data was through genealogical computation. In this regard, while the data from the Western Deccan revealed a linearity of the movement of time from cyclic to historical time through arranging the mythical genealogy, the semi-historical and the historical genealogy in sequential order, on the other hand, the data from the Eastern Deccan presented a complex structure of time by arranging Puranic and Epic accounts first followed by the mythical and historical genealogies. Subsequently, we concluded that this method of time reckoning in the semi-historic genealogies was an important mechanism through which the ruling elites claimed both *brahma-ksatra* and pure *ksatriya* identities simultaneously in the local areas of their control. Thus, our data pertinently highlighted the important role of origin myths in defining the notion of 'history' that apparently was more 'imagined' than 'real' but that which proved to be critical for providing justification and validation to kingship with claims of exaggerated universal control.

The third part of this Chapter, focussed on the historical genealogies that embodied dynastic *varnsa* traditions well-known to most ruling families. In Phase 1, TYPE I we noted that the historical genealogies were simple bearing names of kings not exceeding more than three generations indicating time-cycles that were short. The initial rise to political prominence of the early Chalukyan families obviously meant lesser number of ancestors and further the use of eras, in particular, the Saka era, was used marginal. It was only in TYPE II that long lists of historical genealogies beginning with the founder of the dynasty emerged. This was done alongside the mention of an era and the regnal year as in the case of the Western Chajuyas, while the Eastern Chajukyan inscriptions gave lengthy lists of ancestors along with the number of years each ruler had ruled extending this information to as many as thirty generations. These tendencies emphasized on a linearity of time while recording these historical details within a certain chronological framework to firmly establish the family in its historical context undoubtedly to validate their political power. A peculiar cyclic and linear way of looking at the past both as remembered and recorded co-existed in certain cases wherein the Saka era

was mentioned alongside the use of Kaliyuga to define the past and the present. Clearly, during Phase I, the reckoning of contemporary or dated time was not in a uniform manner reflecting sub-regional variations and also that these inscriptions belonged to the formative stage of each of these dynasty's rise to power. Therefore, a unilinear way of recording events and reigns had not fructified. Reference to the Jupiter's 60 years-cycle that was more profusely used in TYPES III and IV genealogies during Phase 2, indicate an attempt to introduce the cyclic notion of time that now gets integrated within the linear reckoning of time through the prolific use of eras. However, in our over all argument it was the introduction of linear time through the use of historical eras, regnal years and *sarpvatsaras*, over time, located kings in a comparatively more accurate way particularly, with linear time taking a center stage in the records of belonging to Phase 2.

A major conclusion of chapter was to identify how the social identities of these ruling families emerged and changed overtime. In Phase 1, the selective reference to kinship relations in the records of the Badami Chajukyas meant deliberate effort on their part to telescope those names that were politically insignificant. On the other hand, we noted that the Eastern Chalukyan rulers continuously mentioned their linkage with Badami Chajukyan kings. This association with their parent branch, who already had acquired pan-regional identity, we suggested, was not only an attempt to enhance their claims for political legitimization of their authority, but also indicated an attempt on their part to emphasize on a separate identity for them. In Phase 2, a new trend emerged in that historical genealogies of Chalukyan families became more comprehensive by adding the names of kings belonging to their parent branch, namely, of the Badami Chalukyas. The linkages with the parent branch to kings who were far removed in time, we argued was an attempt to resurrect a family history to an antiquity thus establish an that could clearly be differentiated from other competing elites in the region. An interesting tendency arose in Phase 2 with reference to genealogies where, instead of the historical genealogy of the main king, that was found totally absent, we observed the emergence of genealogies of the local chiefs. These resembled TYPE I and II genealogies of the main Chalukyan families and suggests that the local chiefs were just

beginning to emerge as dominant forces in their respective localities and wanted to assert their separate identities.

The use of personal eras named after the king in both TYPE III and IV genealogies like *Chalukya Vikrama* era, *Jagadekamalla* era, *Bhulokamalla* era, etc. was done not only to express political authority but also emphasize the individual greatness of the king and his concern to have a permanent place in history. It also indicates to a mechanism through which the king attempted to seek a special identity. It goes without saying that this type of time reckoning introduced precision in the documentation of various details intended to signify family and individual identity and concomitantly perceptions of the past were articulated as rooted in specific time. A major impact of this was that it rendered the authority of the state a legitimacy to control how they defined their past and their identity, in order to assert political supremacy in the present.

In Chapter IV entitled, **CONQUESTS, MIGRATIONS AND SPATIAL EXPANSION**. We took a close look at the information from the *prasasti* sections of inscriptions that contained information such as military conquests, titles, marriage alliances that enabled analyze other different ways in which the past was constructed and retrieved through the memory of past achievements in terms of their expansion and control of space. This entailed on migrations and the establishment of marriage linkages. Thus, we examined the political and social mechanisms that were used as claims for greatness and points of validation by most of the newly emerged ruling elites. By political mechanisms, we understood information pertaining to military achievements, titles assumed by the rulers and the acquisition of political symbols by them. By social mechanisms was meant discussing the pattern of marriage alliances that emerged under different TYPES of genealogical descriptions.

Against the geo-physical configuration of heterogeneous and complex settlement of the Deccan region, we first argued that most of the conquests carried out by various Chalukyan lineages were in areas with substantial resource base that was necessary for the different stages of the evolution of the State to support its administrative structure was central to claim these

resources and once conducted, the military achievements of kings and their ancestors formed an integral part of the genealogical descriptions. **The** achievements in war were expressed either by giving a simple statement of an individual king subduing hostile kings or, by giving the names of the places he had conquered. The territorial boundaries of various Chajukyan families in different phases of their rise and expansion were further, illustrated by Maps.

Some of the important deductions from a study of this material on the military achievements of the king and his ancestors indicates that in Phase 1 and in TYPE I when the genealogies were brief only a short note on the suppression of hostile kings was mentioned. This suggested to their immediate concern for controlling the areas surrounding their core area and their zeal for conquests and territorial expansion was seemingly very high is attested by the assumption of military titles that emphasized their greatness and love for warfare. For these early rulers there was a well-formulated strategy by the upcoming ruling elites to announce their intentions of greatness and their inherent power and ability. During the same Phase, TYPE II genealogies, the pattern of mentioning military achievements changed. This was mainly because conquests were now made in all directions to expand territorial control. Exaggerated military titles become few but imagined claims put in formulaic form made exaggerated statements of pan-Indian conquests. These exaggerated formulations perhaps emanated from the perceived threat to the political stability of the kingdom, and hence, the need to glorify the deeds and actions of the predecessors and fabricate lengthy genealogies.

In Phase 2, however, we noted a significant change as for the first time, military achievements of the parent branch were enumerated along with the descriptions of the achievements of immediate ancestors. This was characteristic in TYPE III genealogies that also mention Ayodhya as the seat from where the Chajukyans are supposed to have migrated to the Deccan. To make allusion to the control of a "sacred" space indicated that actual territorial control was now rather limited when compared to Phase 1. The "real" or "imagined" territorial control that the kings described in their *prasastis* was done by retrieving and memorizing the past achievements of various ancestors and this became in defining the mode of historical writing the contemporary

king employed to enhance his prestige and further establish a composite Chajukyan identity that, at its core, was a social one.

In Phase 2, the description of the military achievements of the local chiefs who made imperial claims indicates to their rise to political status. Hence, it was found that they imitated the kings of the main ruling families in glorifying their military conquests. However, we found that by the end of Phase 2, there was in fact the emergence of local political identities that tried to establish control only over small localities.

Another way through which control was enhanced was by acquiring high sounding royal or administrative titles and obtaining political symbols or royal insignia. In Phase 1 under TYPE I for both kings and their ancestors, we found limited references to this aspect probably because of the minimal nature of their political control. With regard to the king, in some early examples simple titles like *raja* and *nripah* indicate his subsidiary status clearly suggesting once again that their political authority remained small and narrow. This tendency changes in TYPE II, wherein titles become grandiloquent accompanied by the mention of the acquisition of the political symbols and royal insignia from the kings of north India. This is reflective of the expansion of territorial control and therefore, the need to project the achievements of the kings and their ancestors by linking them to pan-Indian symbols of authority. Similarly, in TYPE II, kings increasingly use of high sounding and assertive titles, which suggests a process of transition of small early kingdom to becoming a State with a large territorial entity. The impact of this was further buttressed from reference to the political symbols that denoted to their claims for political supremacy and pan-Indian identity. In contrast, in Phase 2, for TYPE III and IV genealogies, we have significantly noted the absence of royal or administrative titles of the ancestors. Instead, in TYPE III, political symbols were acquired through the favor of Gods and Goddesses. High sounding administrative titles acquired by kings becomes more intense in both TYPES III and IV genealogies in Phase 2 and this, despite the fact that by this time, the actual military conquests of the king were limited. This we argued, was mainly due to the weakening of political control that prompted the kings to legitimize their power, not by referring to the actual events of the past, but by seeking divine

intervention through which the greatness of the family could be enhanced. In the case of examples of TYPE IV, we noted that the local chiefs were bestowed with *pancamahasabdas*, implying a rise in their rank and authority.

Besides the royal and administrative titles, we found that other titles that defined the character, physical features and talents of the king likened him to gods and epic heroes. Such titles were more rampant in Phase 1 than in Phase 2. We suggest that these titles further emphasized the king's forceful subjection of his enemies thus tried to project him as a divine model or as the ruler of the entire universe.

At the next level of our analysis in this Chapter, we focussed on the social mechanisms and concluded that marriage networks became crucial to ascertain the pattern of inter-clan and inter-family relationship. In Phase 1, our data from TYPE I genealogies revealed that the Chalukyas entered into marriage relationship with such families as Bappuras, Sendrakas, the Kalachuris and the Pallavas, whereas for TYPE II, they primarily established marriage relations with the Rastrakutas, Alupas, the kings of Kalinga and the Pattavardhanis who were local chiefs. The tendency in Phase 1 was for the Chalukyas to get into marriage alliances with the kings whom they had conquered or, to whom they were over-powered at certain periods of time. This clearly suggests that there was a pragmatic aim for which purpose these marriages were done, namely, to control new areas of extended political influence or to minimize the border tensions. We further postulated that this type of data in Phase 1 also asserted the "pan-regional" identity of the Chalukyan elites by perpetuating their social relationships especially with those families that had common lineage and ancestral patterns. This meant that horizontal spread of kinship ties were effected but, at the same time, the "core social identity" of the family remained intact.

In Phase 2, there was an increase in the number of marriage alliances noted in the inscriptions. For TYPE III, Chalukyan families of Kalyani aligned with the Chedis and the Rattas and it was also frequently mentioned in subsequent records that these alliances contributed to the consolidation of their

kingdom during its initial stages of growth. On the other hand, the marriage alliances of the Eastern Chalukyas with the Cholas brought about the new rule of the Chajukya-Chojas in the Eastern Deccan. From this, we surmised that marriage alliances in TYPE III acted both, as a stabilizing force while at the same time, was an agent for the expansion of the spatial control of these families into new areas. In the case of the former, the Chajukyan family identity got firmly entrenched because of the establishment of vertical social relationships with their subordinates. In the latter case it led to the transformation of the Chajukyan identity due to the expansion of horizontal social relations outside of their primary areas of control. Data for TYPE IV during Phase 2 interestingly gave prolific references to the marriage alliances of local chiefs. This surely indicates the necessity felt by these chiefs to now specify, and perhaps, enhance their genealogical status by explicitly and consciously stating their marriage alliances with families who had a higher social and political status than them.

We concluded this chapter by suggesting that the larger processes of territorial integration and its control was possible through both political and socio-ideological mechanisms. Both, the political claims explicated through the mention of military conquests and acquisition of various titles, as well as social concerns to maintain and expand marriage alliances, enhanced our understanding of the patterns that genealogies of these families acquired and the way they evolved through time.

In Chapter V on **PATRONAGE, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONTROL**, we focussed on the grant portion of the inscription which was intrinsically linked to the *prasasti* and its genealogical content. This led us to take a closer look at both smaller units of time and space. In contrast to larger units of cosmological and historical time, the smaller units of time were expressed in terms of year, month, fortnight, weekday and the lunar day and so on. Time reckoned in this way was more pragmatic and provided the rational for the ruling elites to claim economic and social control at the local regions that has been conquered by them. This space of smaller units such as, villages and fields came to be more firmly controlled than the larger territories.

Manifestations of such control is reflected in the patronage patterns that emerged which we analyzed in terms of: 1) Donor- Donee linkages, 2) Nature and location of grant and 3) Information on other social groups.

Donors in the examples studied by us were largely drawn from the members of the ruling families such as the king, the queen, local potentates and other dominant social groups at the village level. Donees who received the various types of grants were usually *brahmanas*, temples, members of the temple staff and other social groups. It was the prime motive of donors to expand the economic and socio-political control in order to administer the newly acquired territories so that a state could be established. In many cases donees like *brahmanas* played a crucial role in disseminating their patron's ideology, and simultaneously, acted as political and social mediators in controlling the local society.

Data in this chapter analyzed showed that during Phases 1 for the TYPE I genealogies, when the territorial control of the Chalukyas did not extend beyond their core area, the king as an owner, was the prime donor and made large-scale donations to *brahmanas*. In our opinion, this *king-brahmanas* relationship in the initial stages, not only resulted in enhanced agrarian production, but on the politico-ideological front, they conferred validation to the political power of the king and also fabricated genealogies for the king. When the spatial expansion was at its peak due to vigorous military campaigns of the kings, it was found that the genealogical records under TYPE II though the king as the donor and the *brahmana* as the donee still continued to dominate agrarian relations, yet at the same time, we have also noted a perceptible visibility of other social groups such as warriors, musicians, merchants and institutions like temples emerge as donees. The latter usually got grants apart from the king, from other members of the ruling family such as the queens, princes, local chiefs and so on.

This situation further continues in Phase 2, with reference to TYPE III even though on the political front this Phase was characterized as a turbulent period for which reason also lengthy mythical and semi-historical genealogies were concocted by *brahmanas* for their patron in order to enhance their

antiquity and status. Thus, we find that especially in the Eastern Deccan, the king continued as was the main donor and most of the grants were made to the *brahmanas* and grants to temples began to emerge. Interestingly, in the Western Deccan, apart from the king other dominant social groups as intermediaries like the *mahamandalesvara*, *mahajanas*, etc. emerged as donors. Likewise, among the donees apart from *brahmanas*, Saivite, Vaisnavite and Jaina temples came to be patronized. Mythical genealogies of the kings were found mentioned even in the donations made by these intermediaries. This is interesting because this suggests that these groups had accepted the supreme authority of the king. We concluded that one cannot attribute the changes in the mode of genealogical writing to the changes as envisaged in patronage patterns for the first three TYPES. On the other hand, in the context of TYPE IV genealogies, we found considerable evidence to dominant social groups at the intermediary level such as *mahamandalesvaras*, *mahasamantas*, *dandanayakas*, *gavundas*, *perggades*, *reddis*, *settis*, sic-, participated in acts of donations. Most of the grants made by these groups were to the temples and temple functionaries and were recorded on the temple walls. Interestingly, in these records we do not have genealogies of ruling elites, but instead, in some examples, we discerned local chiefs and dominant social groups recorded their genealogies similar to those of TYPE I and TYPE II that the main ruling kings had recorded. This clearly suggested that by the end of Phase 2 there was a complete change in the donor-donee image from the earlier times. Genealogies began to now written but now it is for different social groups who had considerable socio-economic power in their respective temporal and local contexts. This, we argued, meant recognizing and accepting the claims of these groups for political suzerainty. Thus, patronage strategies adopted by ruling elites are indicative of integrative mechanisms through which an effective control of various groups at different levels of society was accomplished. However, this was not sufficient, as different levels of the State also required resources for its maintenance and its functioning. This therefore, meant that simultaneously there was also an urgent need to control economic resources.

At the next level of our analysis in this Chapter, we discussed the nature of the grant and their location. Grants were usually in the form of villages, fields, commodities, cash, etc. The unit of grant made varied in size depending

on who the donor was and to whom the grant was made. Witnesses **to when** the grants were made were usually administrators of local areas and hence, played an important role in the controlling of small localities and also in cementing the social linkages between the donor, the donee and the people of the area.

Some of the deductions for Phase 1 are well-known from the earlier studies on the land grant economy. Thus, for TYPE I, most of the grants were made in the form of big villages which were in the process of being inhabited. In this case most of the grants made were found located around the core area clearly suggesting to us that the earliest expansion and control of resources took place around the core area of early Chajukyan rule. Thus, gradually the adjoining rural and tribal areas were acculturated through creating new *agrahara* villages that contributed to steady agrarian expansion. When most of the grants were made in rural uninhabited areas, it is noticed that lengthy fabricated genealogies do not appear under TYPE I. On the other hand, in TYPE II, we observed that land donations in the form of villages and sometimes groups of villages were given in both the rural and urban areas. Most of these also appeared to be inhabited areas. This information occurs frequently along with mention of administrative groups in these localities. In this regard, we argued that with the consolidation of the kings power in small localities through extensive land donations was motivated by the urge to enhance their **royal** image and they did so by universalizing and legitimizing their authority by creating lengthy family genealogies extending up to more than 25 generations.

For Phase 2, an analysis of the data for TYPE III on nature of grants revealed differences between the Eastern Deccan and the Western Deccan. We observed that in the Eastern Deccan, most of the grants were still made in the form of villages as converted *agraharas* that were all inhabited as indicated by reference to an increased number of administrators. By this time, the political control of the main ruling family was beginning to diminish and this further accentuated the need to redefine specific socially powerful identity in **the** villages that were given these grants. Consequently, one noted that **the** fabrication of lengthy mythical and semi-historical genealogies that glorified the king's ancestry by connecting his linkages with legendary families **of the hoary**

past were generally prefixed to these types of grants. These genealogies ensured legitimacy to king's claims for superior authority over and above other contending elites in these localities. On the other hand, in the Western Deccan, we noticed that most of the grants were made in the form of small pieces of land given in different measurements. This indicated that the exclusive donation of big villages as noted in Phase 1 was now giving way to other forms of grants that were smaller in size. This also testified to the existence of multiplicity of rights on land. Hence, we noted that grants were not only made by the ruling elites, but also local chiefs and other dominant social groups. Further, most of the grants were found to be chiefly made to the temple. In these cases reference to lengthy mythical genealogies of the king in the grants made to the temple by local chiefs is significant because, by now, the temple had emerged as a dominant ideological institution providing legitimization and identity to the ruling elite. It would also mean the acceptance of king's authority by the ever-increasing challenge provided by the local chiefs.

During Phase 2 for TYPE IV, we observed that the practice of land donations in the form of villages was completely absent. Instead, we noted that grants in this TYPE were invariably made in small pieces of land given in different measurements, commodities, taxes, cash, revenues, and so on. This, we suggested was due to the rise of new economic forces leading to the development of an urban economy. Economic resources came to be vested not only in various functionaries of the temple and the State but it also led consequentially, to the creation of a powerful class of landed aristocracy. This had a concomitant effect leading to the declining direct influence of the king as the owner of the land. Though, ruling elites continued to make grants these were, however, donated only in small portions of land. Apart from this, a variety of commodities were donated depending on the economic capacity of the donor. Thus, the nature of economic control underwent significant changes during this Phase. In many ways these changes were tied up to how various social groups interacted with the State and also, the way they engaged in competing in the new economic scenario. The impact of all these changes on the way the genealogies of ruling elites were written in TYPE IV became clearly apparent. Genealogies of ruling elites are now completely absent and instead genealogies of the local chiefs emerge. We have argued that this was primarily

because of the change in the control of the economic resources from the king to the local political and social elite.

In this Chapter, we have also discussed the role of scribes in different TYPE of genealogies, because they formed the literate group who were not only employed to document land transactions, but most importantly, they were also the writers of genealogies in inscriptions. This, we suggested not only permitted an effective communication across time and space, but also provided certain immortality to the written source. As writers of 'history' for the ruling families, they collated and collected various sources in order to provide a justifiable identity and status to their respective patrons from these families.

In our concluding analysis in this Chapter, we highlighted that noting of smaller units of specific and 'real' time with reference to economic transactions that had a bearing on genealogies. This recording in inscriptions was done at the time when the grant was actually effected and therefore, carried much significance as it basically emphasized on contemporary time and as an effective mechanism to simultaneously become an agency of social control. This is indicative of the ruling elite's concern about contemporary issues and not only about their past. Thus, despite the fact that the genealogical narratives of these families were rooted in larger notions of time and identity, to control specific regions and localities they had to define the rules of governance in terms of small and specific units of time while handling the most pragmatic issues of resource production, mobilization and control.

Conquests resulting in spatial control or marriage alliances **and** establishing an elaborate network of patronage, however, were still not sufficient for the ruling elite to legitimize their complete authority both regionally and locally. Hence in Chapter VI, on **IDEOLOGY, REGION AND PAN-INDIAN LINKAGES**, we focussed on the ideological elements found in the *prasastis* of inscriptions that were embedded alongside the genealogical and military information. These elements, we argued, were crucial for our understanding of certain well-founded ideological and cultural traits and beliefs as found in the Vedic, *Itihasa-Puran*³ and local tradition implicated and reflected on the ideology of the ruling elite and their conscious attempts to link up their regional identities with Pan-India traditions, which were rooted in the

past. To understand this, we grouped the data into three broad categories: 1) Vedic/ Puranic linkages of the Pan-Indian tradition, 2) Beliefs systems at the regional as connected to Puranic forms of worship and 3) acculturation of tribal/ autochthonous and local elements into the temple cults. In our view, these were important to understand as they defined how the king's authority and his actions were linked to the cosmic powers. Order versus disorder as found effecting the Universe was used a metaphor to explain the king's task of overcoming his enemies and establishing order on earth.

Vedic sacrifices performed by kings and the knowledge of *Smṛti* provided them a special prowess and status. They were also often said to draw strength from the Gods and heroes of the *Itihasa-Purana* to glorify their physical valor, courage, righteousness, generosity, and so on.

The deductions made in Chapter from this type of data for Phase 1 in the TYPE I and II genealogies provided information where the king as the performer of Vedic sacrifice (*asvamedha*). In the Eastern Deccan, however, the individual identity of the king as the performer of these sacrifices was replaced with the family identity, wherein the Chajukyas as a family entity have been described as the performer of sacrifices. In Phase 2, for TYPE III we observed reference to Vedic sacrifices only in the records from the Eastern Deccan and they were conspicuously absent in the Western Deccan—a trend that continued in TYPE IV. From, the above descriptions, we concluded that the preponderance of Vedic sacrifices in Phase 1, especially when the kingdom was expanding, were crucial primarily, because this type of pan-Indian linkages placed the king and his ancestors on a superior plane vis-a-vis his enemy who typified "disorder". These actions linked him up to cosmic forces that defined the *order* of the Universe. The origin of the king from cosmic forces was further buttressed from the mention of *hiranyagartha* (great gift) ceremony where the king was shown discarding his human body to assume a powerful divine body. Though references to this were found only in a couple of examples in TYPE I, it nonetheless, conveys its importance for the king to enhance his claims for absolute, sovereign authority during the initial stages of the growth of his power.

The next important category of pan-Indian linkage that we discussed in this Chapter, pertained to comparisons of king and his ancestors with the authors of legal texts that were primarily based on the *Sruti* and *Smṛti* traditions and hence, were considered to be divine in origin. We argued that the main intention in drawing such comparisons was basically, to project the king as the upholder of *dharma* that bound him to maintain the hierarchical order of social relationships. This further raised the king to be almost like a super human being. Our data revealed more instances for TYPE I perhaps because during these early days these genealogies of kings were short and therefore, reference to these pan-Indian traditions was important to justify his claims for political authority. On the other hand, the declining references to these symbols in TYPE II alluded to the fact that by now a well-entrenched kingdom had evolved and new mechanisms for legitimation were in place and the need to project the king as an authority of law was superfluous. This legitimation was provided through greater descriptive accounts of extended genealogies as noted for TYPE II in Chapter III. Even under TYPE III, when the actual political power was seen waning, more than asserting the authority of the king through pan-Indian symbols of *dharma* as a legitimizing mechanism, the ruling elite fabricated genealogies from the *itihasa-purana* tradition of pan-Indian importance, as this provided a far more viable validation for their authority. Significantly, the local elite who had emerged to political prominence by Phase 2, were found comparing themselves with the law-makers, as exemplified in some examples of TYPE IV. This was surely an attempt by the local elite to enhance their status by adopting pan-India ideology of the symbols of *dharma* that served the purpose of apparently bringing them on par with the main ruling families and further, validate their authority in local situations.

As part of Pan-Indian linkages, we next discussed in this Chapter, the various comparisons the king drew with the Gods and the epic and puranic heroes to highlight not only his, but also his ancestors, personal attributes such as military prowess, diplomacy, righteousness, generosity and so on. For instance, in such references we noted that the king was likened with Visnu in conquering the world, Indra in valor, Bhima in prowess, Yudhishthira in righteousness, Sibi in liberality, and so on. For TYPE I during Phase 1,

numerically more examples of these references were found alluding both to the king and his ancestors, than in TYPE II and III. Interestingly, these references increased in TYPE IV during Phase 2, where the local chief was found drawing comparisons with the epic and puranic heroes. From these descriptions in different Phases, we concluded that when the political authority was in the incipient stage of development at the local level, there was a tendency among the ruling elite, as noted in TYPE I, or even a local chief as in TYPE IV, to link up with the pan-Indian mythic images of Gods and epic heroes, as this enhanced their political and military images that had become a necessity to establish effective moral and political authority. On the other hand, fewer examples in TYPE II suggest that a greater stability during the later half of Phase 1 meant that drawing on the immediate historical past was enough rather than making exaggerated claims to pan-Indian linkages. However, in TYPE III, the fabrication of lengthy mythical and semi-historical genealogy that connected the ruling elites origins to pan-Indian traditions provided an alternative way to solidify their new social and political identity especially at the time when their political authority was diminishing at the beginning of Phase 2.

On the basis of these various types of pan-Indian linkages mentioned in our data, we have concluded that these eulogistic accounts integrated with different TYPES of genealogies, clearly reflected a tendency to refer to the past culture that was based on unflinching belief in Vedic, *Sastric* and Puranic tradition. The king with exaggerated attributes of divine and omnipotent powers was only to reflect that the enemy had been over powered atleast in rhetoric. These ideological moorings of memorizing and retrieving the mythic past in a selective manner was equally crucial to enhance ruling elites present sense of social identity.

In fact, the notion of ascribing divine characteristics to the king through pan-Indian linkages referred to only one dimension of ideological mechanism. At the other level of ideology, we have belief systems rooted in religious consciousness that provided the king with another method through which he drew parallelism with God. In the context of our study, we find that there existed different religious faiths such as Saivism, Vaisnavism, Jainism and other

sectarian groups like Kalamukhas, the Pasupatas, etc, who had a large social base.

To understand these dimensions of ideological linkages, we first described the various beginning with worship of Gods of pan-Indian importance, such as Lord Narayana, Mahasena, Karttikeya, Jina and so on. A natural corollary of worshipping Gods was the construction of temples and performing of rituals and festivals that squarely corresponded with the life-style of the king. Next, we discussed the various boons and favors, which the Chajukyan kings are supposed to have received from the various Gods and Goddesses. Thus, for instance, we noticed Chajukyias referring to themselves as being protected by the Saptamatrikas, acquired the kingdom by the favor of Goddess Kausiki or that they accomplished prosperity of the kingdom by the favor of Karttikeya and so on. This data was found invariably in first three TYPES of genealogies. These categories of information was crucial for us as it enabled to envisage clearly how the king tried to linkup himself with the macro-cosmic god while reinforcing his micro-cosmic representation on the earth.

In Phase 1 it was found that in both TYPE I and II genealogies the information revealed that the ruling elites were more inclined towards Brahmanism as known from their adoption of titles namely, *paramabrahmanya*. Further, patronization of *brahmanas*, well-versed in Vedas and the performance of Vedic sacrifices buttresses this assumption. *Brahmanas* as religious specialists representing the "sacred power" could provide validation to "temporal authority" and further, elevated the status of the king to the level of a micro-cosmic power through performing various rituals. Nonetheless, along with Brahmanism, there also co-existed elements of Puranic religion through the mention of gods like Giva and Visnu in their *prasastis*. Jainism also received patronage from ruling elite during this Phase, but to a limited extent.

In Phase 2 for both TYPES III and IV genealogies, the data showed a perceptible change in the attitude of the ruling elites towards different religious sects. During this phase, we find a clear dominance of such religious sects like

Saivism and Vaisnavism. These two religious sects emerged in a big way so as to over shadow the earlier importance given to the Vedic religion. In fact, *bhakti*, became the dominant ideology, which with its messianic appeal integrated new values of devotion, loyalty and complete surrender towards the deity. Further, by drawing parallelism of the deity and king, *bhakti* acted as an important ideology of the ruling elites for legitimization. Thus, we noted that the data for Phase 2 revealed proliferation of both the Saivite and Jaina temples. This is inferred from the numerous grants given for the construction of these temples, their repairs and to religious teachers of these affiliations. Attempts were made by kings of the main ruling families as well as dominant social groups to seek affiliation with a deity in the temple. This is inferred from the variety of the names of deities that corresponded squarely with the names of social groups that installed them or patronized them. AN these descriptions were clearly indicative of a significant expansion in the social base of temple patronage, which, we argued, had crucial implications for the acculturation and appropriation of the local cults such as the cult of Narasimha and so on and the consequent absorption of the local tribal groups at various levels of the social structure. Thus, from the discussions in this Chapter at different levels, we observed that pan-India linkages alluding to a sense of past co-existed with adopting the local belief systems and these enabled the ruling groups to resurrect and protect their special identity while, at the same time being inclusive to change from time to time.

In each of the Chapters, we have been able to arrive at the following conclusions for different TYPES of genealogies delineated for the present study. Thus we concluded that for TYPE I, when the genealogies were simple the mythical notions of time dealt with was hazy and the historical time remembered was very short. Hence, this also precluded these families having a strong cohesive social identity based on well-ordered and comprehensible family history. The reason why small genealogies are representative for this TYPE was not difficult to explain. It was mainly due to the fact that the Chalukyas were just emerging as strong political power, their military conquests were limited in the early Phase and their spatial expansion was mostly around the core area of their control. Further, we deduced that most of the grants they made were largely in the rural virgin lands. Hence, their

economic control too was rather limited. However, for new ruling elites it **was** equally important to have firm identity in their localities and this was done by referring to pompous military titles, patronizing *brahmanas*, performing Vedic sacrifices, drawing comparisons with Gods and puranic and epic heroes that linked them to pan-Indian traditions of the mythical past. All these mechanisms that alluded to divine attributes of the king were clearly meant to provide him with immediate validation for his authority, especially when he could not use a family past and glory that had been impossible to articulate at this stage.

The emergence of TYPE II genealogies with an extended historical genealogy, we concluded took place at a time when the political expansion of the kingdom through military conquests was at its peak. **Not** only did the kings expand their spatial control at this time but, to control these larger areas they contracted marriage alliances with powerful neighboring kings and donated large groups of villages to *brahmanas*, warriors and, in some cases, to temples in order to exercise effective control over smaller localities and thus enhance agrarian production. With a well-entrenched socio-administrative system to lean on and with a now strong family history constructed, naturally other ideological mechanisms like drawing on pan-Indian linkages gradually decreased in this TYPE. On the other hand, on the religious front, patronage of Puranic religions like Saivism and Vaisnavism and construction of temples gained momentum. This clearly indicates to us that with an enlargement of historical genealogies the patronage of religious cults that had a strong local social base increased and an identity on the based on only pan-Indian linkages was minimized.

In the context of TYPE III, we concluded that, for the first time, the fabrication of lengthy mythical and semi-historical genealogies connected the origins of the ruling family to the Lunar and Solar families of the hoary and legendary past. Use of eras had become more prolific in this TYPE, significantly indicating the concern of these families to preserve this past and to enhance their claims for powerful social and political identity by locating it in more pragmatic terms by recording present time, thus giving it a certain fixity. **The** need for writing such a past resulted from the political and economic compulsions of the time. In this regard, we noted that **the period between the**

11th to the 12th century witnessed political and economic transformations. On the political front, the control of kings was gradually weakening giving way to the rise of new local political and landed elites. Further, the brahmanical domination noticed in the earlier Phase was getting overshadowed by the growing influence of temple. This had its implications on the changes in economy that in Phase 2 appeared relatively urban than only the agrarian in nature. Further, with the growing influence of the Puranic religion and the emergence of temple as a dominant ideological force, meant that attempts to glorify the divine image of the king through Vedic sacrifices and analogies was greatly reduced in this TYPE. However, this does not mean weakening of pan-Indian linkages, since, at the same time the lengthy mythical genealogies were purely drawn from the puranic and epic sources and these sharply characterized the genealogies we had categorized as TYPE III. Thus a new concern to write family history using the mythical past to create a strong social identity came to dominate the inscriptional narratives.

In TYPE IV, for same Phase, we conclude that the genealogies of local chiefs appeared in the records issued by kings, but with an absence of their own genealogies. Not only had the local chiefs emerged as politico-economic force by this time, but in order to assert their power and social identity in newly emerging complex society, they naturally tried to emulate the genealogies of kings and imitating them in drawing comparisons with Gods and epic heroes.

Our over all conclusions suggest that the process of writing genealogies sometimes drawing on an imagined past were essential to resurrect one's social identity. However, this could not be only be drawing on powerful and exaggerated imagery and was coterminous with the political, economic, social and ideological transformations that took place over the period of our study. Thus, by bring out the interplay of these various factors in their totality, we were clearly able to envisage how, memory and history as depicted through genealogies got transformed by the external forces that equally played a crucial role in controlling the society. Thus, explaining the necessity of carefully articulating narration about the past, consolidating and refurbishing social identities and maintaining political and economic order, have been the core of our concerns in writing this thesis. Having done this in a regional context and within the specific parameters of the early medieval period, now recognized as

a critical period of transition, has enabled us to conclude on the vastness of social complexity on the Indian sub-continent, which must necessarily be revealed through micro-level studies, notwithstanding that these must incessantly be linked to pan-Indian civilizational concerns.

Our major contributions in terms of historical research carried out in this study are at two levels, the empirical and the theoretical. At the empirical level, for the first time a microscopic categorization of 220 Chalukyan inscriptions has been done in four broad themes of data collected for this thesis on genealogies, titles, grants and belief systems.

By classifying this data in a new way, we have been able to first effectively highlight changes in the mode of writing genealogies. In fact, it needs to be reiterated here, that hitherto, scholars have used these sources to write only political history. But, our study has clearly shown how genealogies can be more effectively used to write social history, as this was also the main concern of the ruling elite. The perceptions of the past were entwined into framing their family history, on the one hand, to distance themselves from their immediate local situations while, on the other hand to, establish pan-Indian linkages to bolster their social status.

Similarly, whereas in conventional historiography, scholars have used the data on the acquisition of various titles after military conquests to glorify the greatness of the king and to demarcate the physical extent of his empire, in the present thesis, by classifying this information on this aspect pertaining to the king and his ancestors, we were able to describe how new spatial control necessitated a drawing on the past military achievements of ancestors. Some of these were based on memory, others were fictitious, but they all suggested a mode of history writing essential for the ruling family to maintain control over the newly conquered territories. The classification of data on economic and social aspects enabled us to juxtapose the ideological and political factors of controlling the past with more pragmatic concerns of controlling the present. We argued that the grant portions of inscriptions should not be absolutely detached from the *prasasti* sections but should be read together. At the ideological level, by looking at the pan-Indian linkages we not only referred to

the religious ideology of ruling elites, but also by classified the information on various comparisons drawn between the king and Gods and Puranic heroes. Further looking at this information in the context of both the king and his ancestors, we were able to clearly show the presence of a historical consciousness hidden in this data.

Since, all this information is presented in a single source namely, the inscriptions, we pertinently moved away from the conventional method of narrating political history in linear time to a more complex method of describing social history that manifested a complex matrix of the co-existence of linear and cyclic notions of time. The regional specificity of this case study further highlighted a clearly formulated Chajukyan identities but that which also recognized differences between the various families. Rigid formulations of maintaining exclusionary identities was not the norm but rather, the focus was on continuing and expanding it through marriage alliances outside their own *gotra* or kin affiliation. Thus, a detailed study of these sources helped us to clearly envisage homogeneous and heterogeneous elements that made Chaiukyan family history at one level cohesive, and at the other expressive of individual identity.

At the theoretical level, our efforts in this study have been to enrich the ongoing debate in recent historical research to re-looking at specific source materials for different periods of pre-modern history, so as to dispel the misconceptions that early Indians lacked in a sense of history. Our study not only dismisses this erroneous notion, but more pertinently, we have been able to clearly show that not one, but multiple notions of historical consciousness had existed in the writing of genealogies. Further, we were also able to clearly indicate through the changes reflected in the writing of our sources that this looking back to the past was important as the Chaiukyan ruling elites used it to lay claims over peoples they conquered during the course of their history- Family history was thus a critical and sensitive to provide self-esteem to them but equally valid to handle contemporary local concerns.

Finally, by studying genealogies and making them a core part of this historical analysis, we were able to argue how a social variable highlighted

historical narration. The complex structures of memory **and time that were** intrinsic to it, however, underwent changes in sequel with the other changes that marked the social, political, economic and ideological spheres of activity during the early medieval times. Social history need not therefore, be seen as a separate entity. Rather, it was a dimension that was presented in all aspects of historical activity; be it military, political, economic or ideological. It is our overall assessment that if one has to rid oneself of popular notions that social categories of identity formation were rigid in the past, or that Indians lacked a sense of history, the only way to do so is to contextualize studies of these aspects to a regional level. It is in the smaller narratives scattered all over the country in different forms of recording that enables us to get a sense of how social and ideological moorings of this country had evolved. The discourse of History as it has developed in the context of the nation-state was clearly absent in early medieval times but, history as a mode of remembering, recording and manipulating for political and ideological purposes was very much present. To decipher the innumerable trajectories of how this was done one has to move to smaller domains of time and space as done by us in taking u a case study of the Chajukyan families. Their genealogies had simultaneously inherent in **them** modes of historical narration and social concerns that were seminal to their cementing of socio-political and socio-economic power,

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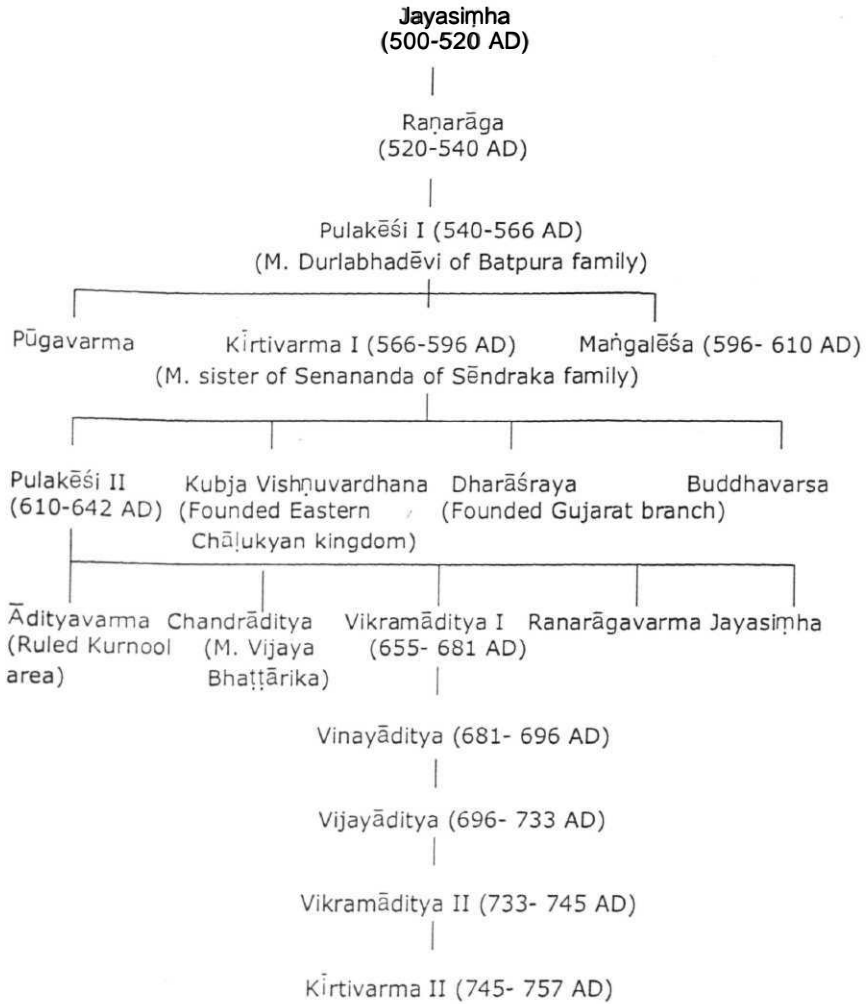
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APPENDIX-I

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI

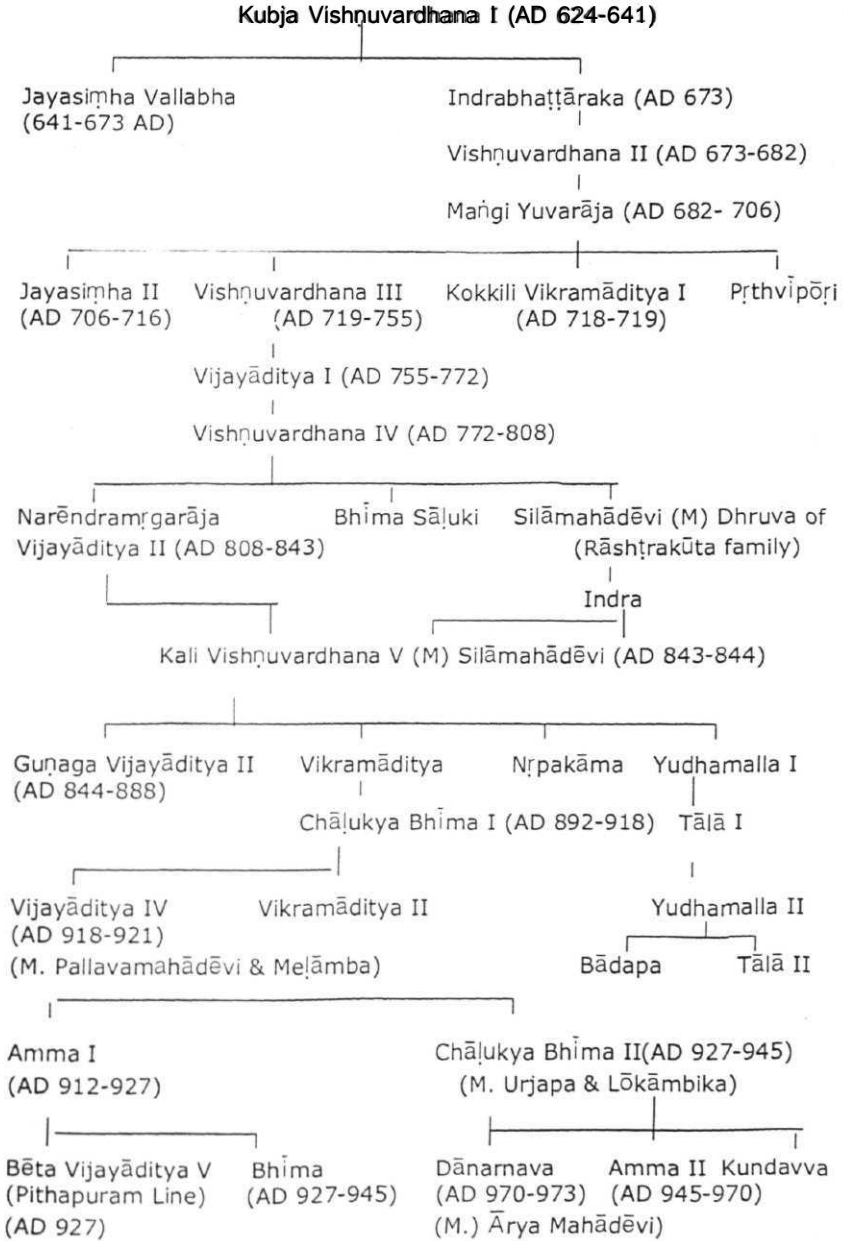


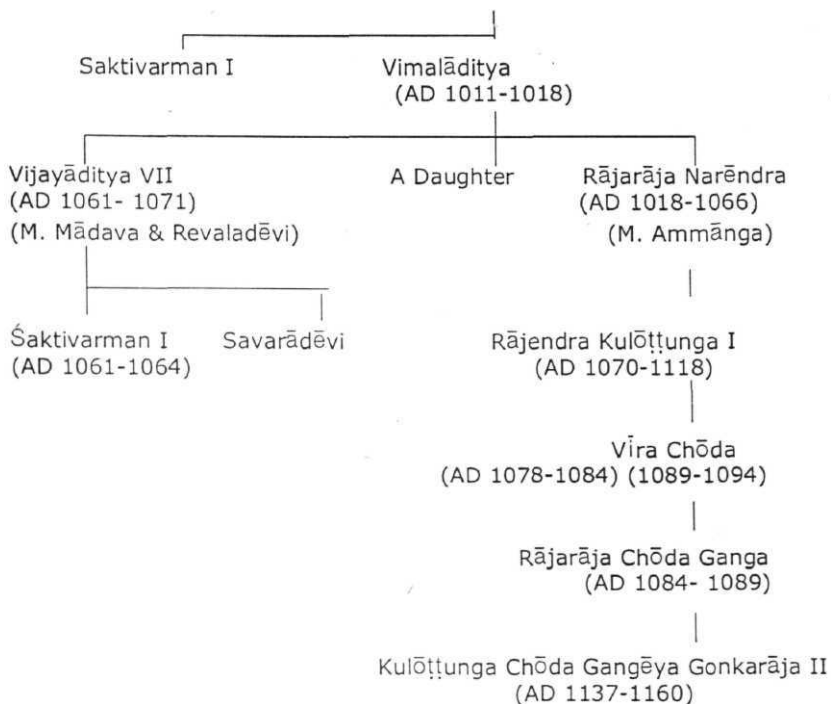
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Genealogical table has been taken by from K. V. Ramesh's *Chālukyas of Vātāpi*, Delhi, 1984, pp.

APPENDIX- II

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYAS OF VENGU



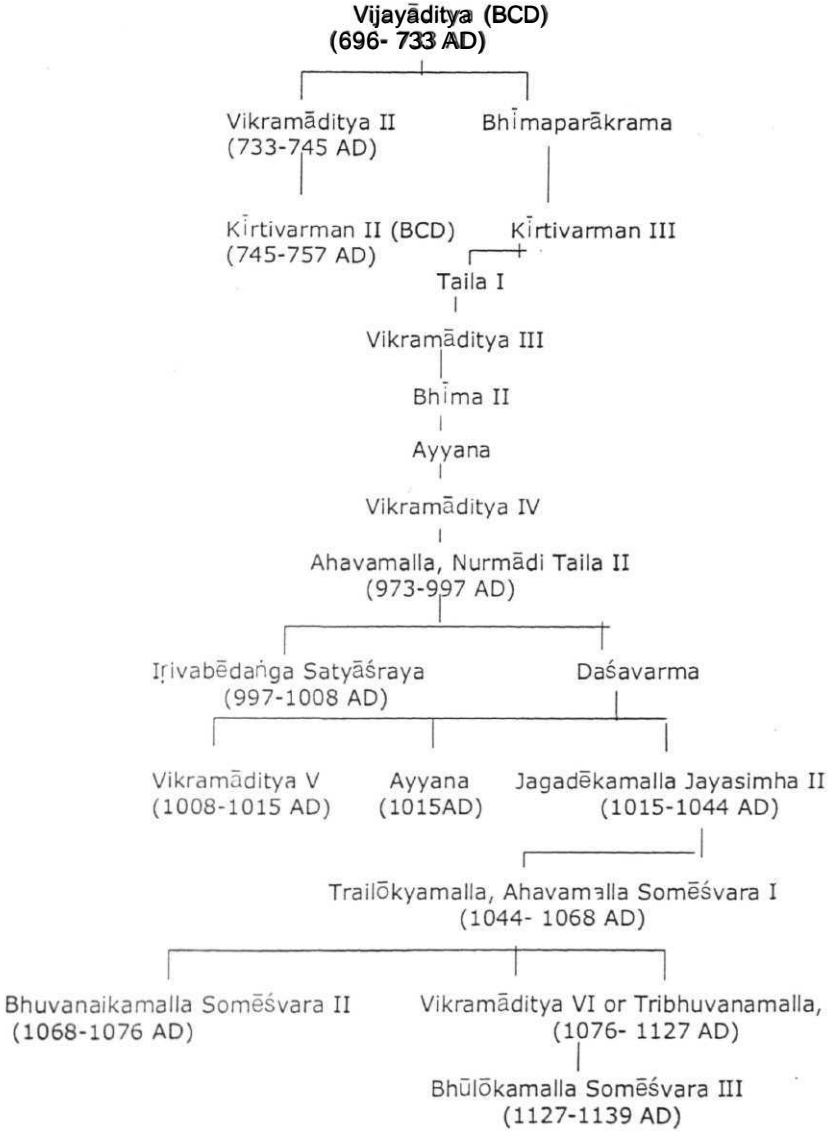


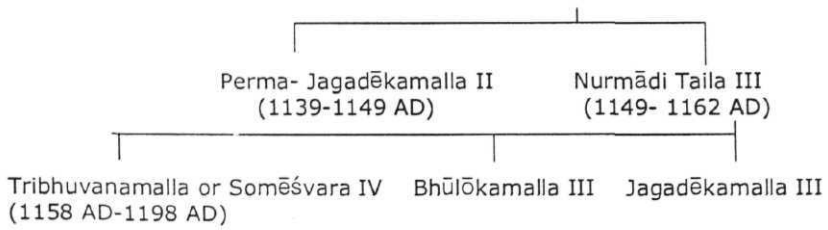
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The above genealogical table on the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi has been **taken** from N. Venkataramanayya's book on *Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi*, 1950, after p. 351. The chronology of the various rulers mentioned in the above table has been adopted from B. V. Krishna Rao's work on *The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi*, (AD 610-1210), Hyderabad, 1973.

APPENDIX- III

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE WESTERN CHALUKYAS OF KALYANI





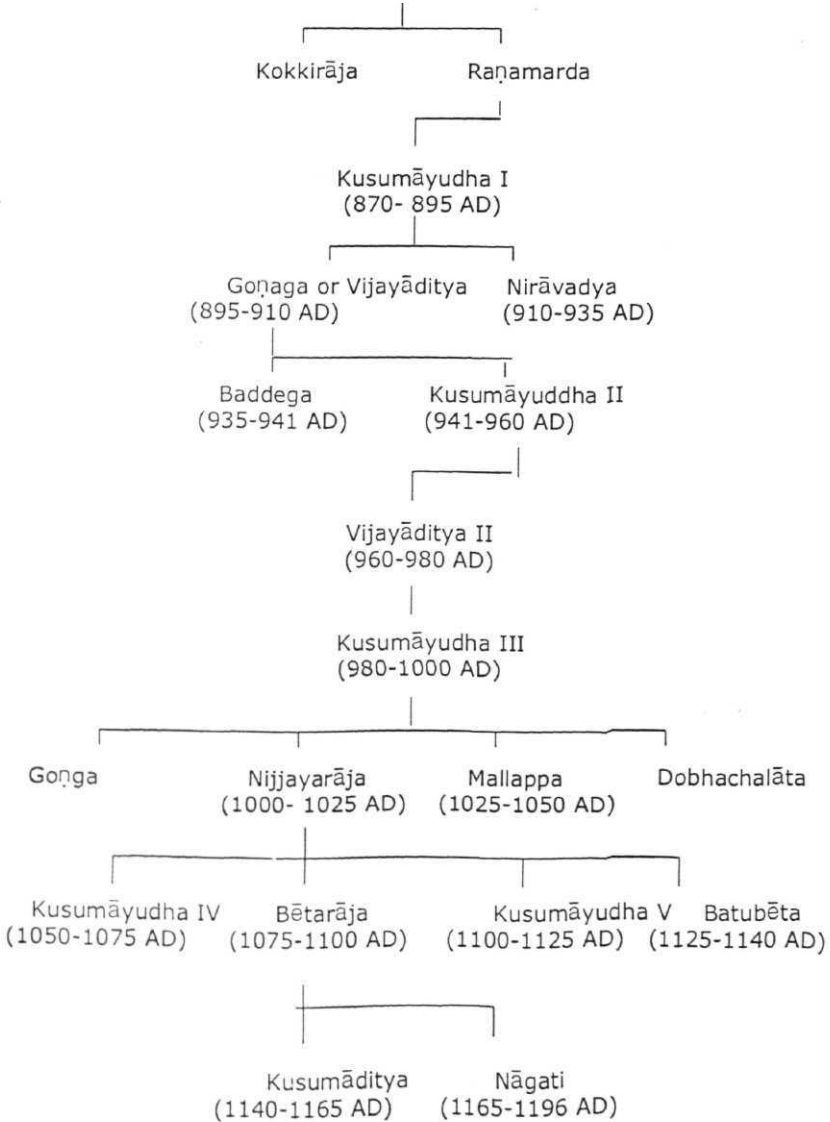
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The above genealogical table of the western Chalukyan kings of Kalyani has been adopted by us from Krishna Murari's book on *The Calukyas of Kalyani*, Delhi, 1977, pp. 370- 371.

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE CHALUKYAS OF VEMULAVAPA

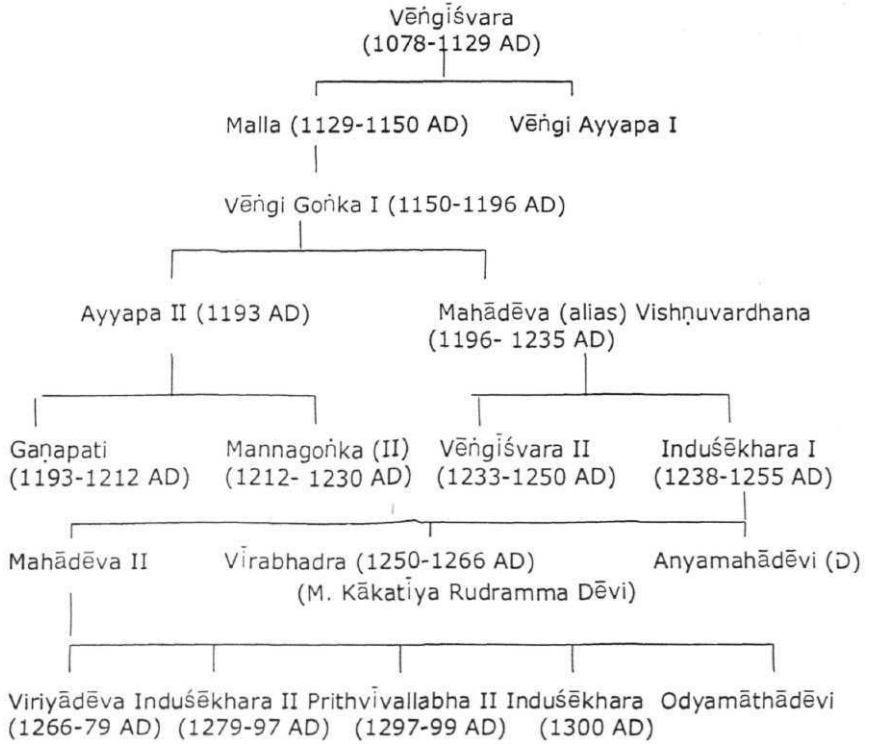
APPENDIX- IV B

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE CHALUKYAS OF MUDIGONDA



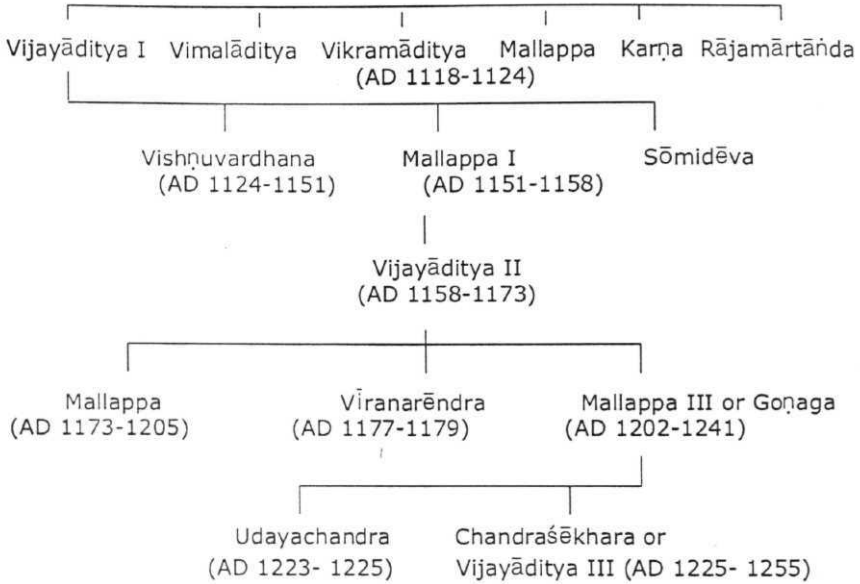
APPENDIX-IV C

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE CHALUKYAS OF NIDADAVOLU



APPENDIX -IV D

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE CHALUKYAS OF JANANATHAPURAM



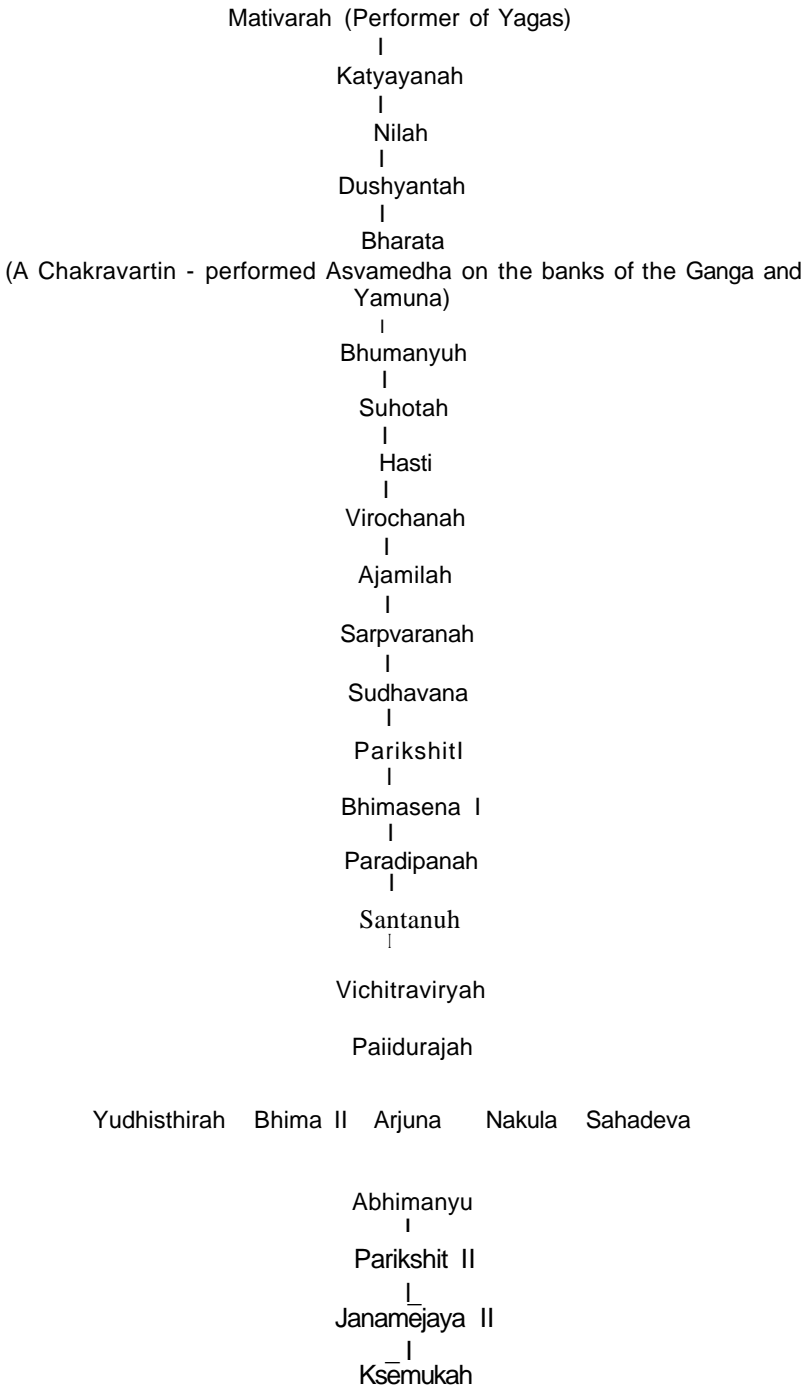
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The above genealogical tables belonging to the Minor Chalukyan families of Mudigonda, Nidadavolu and Jananathapuram were taken from K. Suryanarayana's *History of the Minor Chalukya Families of AndhraDesa*, New Delhi, 1986, pp. 10, 52, 80 & 151.

APPENDIX-V

MYTHICAL GENEALOGY OF THE CANDRAVAMSA LINEAGE





|
Naravahanah
|
Satanikah
|
Udayanah

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This genealogical table has been adopted by us from K. V. Ramesh's *Calukyas of Vatapi*, Delhi, 1984, pp. 16-18.